HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

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With a foreword by

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पर्यटन तथा नागर विमानन मंत्री
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FOREWORD

Kashmir is unique in many ways, as much for its extraordinary natural beauty as for the fact that it has over the last thirty centuries been the seat of Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic culture. In the course of these millenia a remarkable fusion has taken place, with the result that although today the predominant religion in the valley is Islam, the tradition of synthesis and tolerance is deeply rooted among its inhabitants. This is evident not only in Kashmiri architecture, music and language, but also in the fact that many religious shrines are visited and worshipped with equal veneration by people belonging to different religious persuasions.

The recent volume seeks to study in some detail the advent, growth and ultimate decline of Buddhism in Kashmir. This is a fascinating story, which has not really received the serious attention that it deserves. I am glad that Kumari Sarla Khosla has undertaken this study, and I am sure it will be of interest to scholar and layman alike.

Karan Singh

KARAN SINGH

New Delhi,
June 1, 1971.

PREFACE

"History of Buddhism in Kashmir" relates the story of the birth, rise and fall of that religion in the valley. The subject is both vast and difficult and the source material on which it is based is to be found in many languages. All available historical, epigraphic and archaeological sources have been used in the work. Besides I have utilised the information supplied to me by the people of the State and from my own personal observation. The spellings used in it as far as possible are, the same as used in various Pali, Sanskrit and English works. I am highly indebted to Sri R.C. Raina, Ex-Secretary, Education Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, who has helped me in securing published and unpublished works from the State and has encouraged me to pursue the work. I am highly thankful to Sri Kushak Bakaula State Minister for Ladakh Affairs, for providing me up-to-date information on certain important points, to Pandit Kaka Ram Ji of Raghunath Pathshala for explaining to me various religious and philosophical points, to Shri K.N. Shastri, (retired), of Archaeological Department, Frontier Circle, for interpreting certain inscriptions and supplying me the details of certain sculptures, and to Shri T.N. Khazanchi, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Frontier circle, Srinagar for taking me to the Buddhist sites. I thank once again Shri T.N. Khazanchi, Shri R.C. Kak and the Museum Srinagar for supplying me the rare photographs which are pasted in the work. My thanks are also due to Dr. Roth of Germany for translating German passages for me and Dr. Nalinaksh Dutt of Calcutta University for his advice and assistance.

I am highly thankful to Dr. Karan Singh, minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, who took pains to go through the manuscript and write a foreword.

My thanks are also due to Raghunath Pathshala Library,

Jammu; Shri Ranbir Library, Jammu; Research Library, Srinagar; University Library, Srinagar; Public Library, Srinagar; Museum, Srinagar; the State Archives of Jammu and Kashmir; Government College Library, Udhampur; Constitution Library, Delhi; National Library, Calcutta; University Library, Calcutta; Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta; D.A.V. College Libraries, Amritsar and Jullundur; Khalsa College Library, Amritsar and the Agra University Library, Agra.

Originally "History of Buddhism in Kashmir" is a Thesis submitted to Agra University in 1970. With reverence, I acknowledge the constant guidance, encouragement and inspiration provided by my Guru Dr. A.L. Srivastava, without whose help I could hardly have ventured to study this difficult subject.

Finally I am obliged to thank Shri N. K. Sagar of "Sagar Publications" who took personal interest to see this volume published in a very short time.

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Ancient Khotan	Sand Buried Ruins of Ancient Khotan
2. Asiat. Res.	Asiatic Researches.
3. Aṣvaghosha by Beal	Fo-Sho-Hung-Tsan (A Life of Buddha by Aṣvaghosha, Tr. by Beal).
4. Ath. Veda	Atharva Veda.
5. Beal's Catena	A Catena of Buddhist scriptures from Chinese by Guile Beal.
6. Bu-Ston	The History of Buddhism by Bu-Ston.
7. Cosmo. & Geog.	Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature. D.C. Sircar.
8. C.H.I.	Cultural Heritage of India.
9. Epi. Ind	Epigraphica Indica.
10. Geol. Soc. Quart.	Geological Society's Quarterly.
11. H.S.D.	History of Sanskrit Drama.
12. H.S.L.	History of Sanskrit Literature.
13. H.I.L.	History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, Winternitz,
14. I-Tsing-Takakusu	Buddhist practices in India I-Tsing Tr. by J. Takakusu.
15. Indian Logic Satish Chandra	History of the School of Logic by Mahamahopadbya Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan.
16. J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

17. J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
18. J.P.T.S.	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
19. J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar, Orissa Research Society.
20. L.E.A.	J. Przyluski. The Legends of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Text. Tr. by Dilip Kumar Wiswas.
21. K.C. Pandey, Abhinava	Abhinav-Gupta, an historical and philosophical study by Dr. Kanti Chandra Pandey.
22. Kimura, Hina & Maha.	A Historical Study of the terms of Hinayana and Mahayana and the origin of Buddhism, by Ryukan Kimura.
23. M. Bh.	Mahabharta.
24. Penzer	Ocean of Stories (Katha Sarit Sagar) Tr. by N.M. Penzer.
25. Rajat.	Rājatarangiṇi of Kalhaṇa, Ed. & Tr. by M.A. Stein.
26. Remusat's Foe-Koucki	The Pilgrimage of Fa-hein, from Fr. Ed. Foe-Kouchi.
27. S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East, (oxford).
28. Schiefner	Geschte Des Buddhismus in Indien by Taranath Tr. by F.A.V. Schiefner.
29. Tibetan Tales by Schiefner	Tibetan Tales, Tr. from Tibetan of Kah-gyur by F.A.V. Schiefner done in English by W.R.S. Ralston.
30. Vikramank.	Vikramankdevcharitam.
31. Waddell	Buddhism in Tibet by Austin Waddell.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

The Name

Hekataeous of Militus[1] (C. 549 - 486 B.C.) mentions the city of Kaspatyarus, situated where the Indus becomes navigable, and Kaspapyros as a tribe living on the banks of the Indus. Herodotus[2] (484 - 431 B.C.) and Skylax of Karyanda[3] to call Kashmir by the name of Kaspatyros.

Kaspeiria or Kashmir is mentioned as a province of Menander's home kingdom.[4] It is called by the same name, that is, Kaspeiria by Ptolemy also (middle of the 2nd century

1. Mcrindle, *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, p. 108 ;
   Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and La'in Literature*, Intro., pp. XIV, 142 ;
   Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 11.
2. Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and Latin Literature*, p. 2 ;
   Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 11 ;
   H.H. Wilson, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, 1960, p. 114.
3. Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and Latin Literature*, Intro., pp. XIV, 4 ;
   Mcrindle, *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, p. 108 says that Wlford, Heeren, Mannert and Wahl Connect the name of Kaspatyros with Kashmir.
4. Tarn, W.W., *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 238.

A.D.)[5] a Greak poem 'Dionysiaka' or Basarika, written[6] about the beginning of 5th century A.D. by Nanos, a native of Panoplis in Egypt, mentions Caspeiri[7] as Kashmir, while Stephanus[8] from the same poem refers to Kashmir as Kaspitroias.

Chinese call Kashmir ki-pin[9], while Tibetans call Kashmir Khe-Che-Yul or Kha-Chhul[10] and its natives Kha-Chhe-pa.[11] Gilghites use the word 'Kashir' both for the people and the country.[12]

Topography

Kashmir[13] lies between 34°.5′ North Latitude and 74°.48′ North Longitude. It is an Oval shaped valley surrounded by chains of mountains which are also oval.[14]

5. Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and Latin Literature*, p. 2, fn. 2 ; Mcrindle, *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, p. 108 (date p. 1) ; Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 9 ; H.H. Wilson, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, p. 116.
6. Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and Latin Literature*, p. 196.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
8. Tarn W.W. *The Greek in Bactria and India*, p. 238, fn. 1, p. 240 ; Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 10 calls it as a tribe.
9. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 260 ; Toung Pao, Vol. V, pp. 276, 279 and 276, fn. 36 ; Stein, M.A. *Ancient Geography*, p. 13.
10. Remusat, *Foe-Koueki*, p. 30.
11. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 46 ; Luciano Petech, *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*, 1939, p. 12. According to *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* (Ed. by S.C. Dass 1908), Index p. IV this word means the land of blossoms).
12. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 46.
13. Drew. Frederick, *The Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 161 ; Pelseart, *Jehangir's India*, p. 33 (Kashmir 35° N. Latitude) ; J.A.S.B. 1866, Vol. 35, Part 2, p. 93 (Kashmir is approximately N. Latitude 31°.13′).
14. Drew, *The Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 161 Lawrence, W.R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 44.

The valley has an elevation between 5200 ft. to 6,000 ft. above the sea level.[15] The mountains which surround it vary between 12,000 ft. to 18,000 ft. in height[16] and the lowest pass, Banihal, in the Pīr-Panjāl range is 3,000 ft. above the level of the valley.[17]

The flat part of the country is 84 miles long and 20-25 miles broad.[18] It has a ring of mountains around it.[19] The irregular oval within the mountain boundries measures 116 miles long and 40-75 miles broad and is about 3,900 square miles in area.[20] The surrounding mountain chain has only one narrow gap near the North-West and of the valley. River Jhelum after uniting all the springs and rivulets of Kashmir flows by this gorge at Bārāmūlā in its course towards the plains of the Punjab.[21]

The Legend that Kashmir was a vast lake,[22] called

15. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 44 ; Lydekkar, *The Geology of Kashmir and Chamba Districts*, p. 72.
16. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 64.
17. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 44.
18. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 64 ; Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 162 ; Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 12 ; Lydekkar, *Geology of Kashmir and Chamba District*, p. 72 ; Oldham, *Manual of Geology*, p. 420 ; *Forester's Travels*, p. 16, says that Kashmir is 90 miles wide S.W. to N.W.
19. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 64 ; Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 13 ; Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 162 ; Toung Pao, Vol. V, p. 279.
20. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 13 ; Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 64 ; *Bernier's Travels*, p. 395.
21. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 13 ; Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 64 ; Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 162 ; Toung Pao, Vol, V. p. 279 ; Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and Latin Literature*, pp. 22-23 fn. 3 ; H.H. Wilson, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, Appendix I, p. 92 (Taken from *Wakiat-i-Kashmir*).
22. Godwin Austin, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, Vol. XX. 1864, p. 384 ; HH.. Wilson, *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XV, 1825, p. 8.

Satīsaras, is referred to by Kalhaṇa.[23] It is related at great length in Nīlamata.[24]

The territorial extent of Kashmir has remained unchanged through the course of preceding centuries.[25] The whole valley is divided into two parts (1) Karewas or plateaus and (2) the plain formed by the alluvium of the Jhelum and its tributaries.[26]

Mountains

Kashmir has the natural protection of mountains which encircle it.[27] The mountains consist of three main ranges[28] (1) Northern and Eastern Ranges of Nanga Parbat 26,620 ft. in the North,[29] (2) Harmukh (16,903 ft.) in the East[30] and (3) Panjāl Range (15,000 ft.) in the South West.[31]

23. *Rajat.*, I.V.V. 25-27 (Satī is a virtuous woman and Saras, a lake).
24. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese), V.V. 26-237 ;
Bühler's Report gives Nīlamata's story on p. 39 ;
H.H. Wilson, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, p. 128 refers to it.
25. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 63.
26. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 45 ;
Karewas are flat topped mounds, composed of loam and clay and slit with their layers of greenish sand (Oldham, *Manual of Geology*, p. 421 ; Wadia, D.N., *Geology of India* 3rd Ed. 1953, p. 380
"Karewas are the surviving remnants of deposits of a lake or series of lakes which once filled the whole valley-basin from end to end". (D.N. Wadia, *Geology of India*, 3rd Ed. 1953, p. 380).
27. Toung Pao, Vol. V, p. 279 ;
Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 162 ;
H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 107 ;
Rajat I. V.V. 31, 39 ;
H.J. Mackinder, *Camb. History*, Vol. I, 1955, p. 29 ;
Alberuni's India, p. 206 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 261.
28. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 70 ;
H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, 1955, p. 107.
29. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 88 ;
Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 193 ;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 64.
30. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 14.
31. *Ibid*, p. 15.

Passes

Kashmir has twenty[32] passes. The most important of which is Bārāmūlā.

The Bārāmūlā Pass

It is 34 miles West of Srinagar, and lies in 34°.13′ Latitude and 84°.23′ Longitude approximately.[33] The river Jhelum flows out of this pass and leaves the valley for Muzaffarābād.[34] This is the easiest route from Punjab to Kashmir.[35] This pass is open throughout the year and can be used by horses as well.[36] The name Varāhmūlā is mentioned in Rajatarangini (VII 1309, VIII 451) and in 1229 verses. This is the Western gate of the country.[37] Yuan-Chwang in the 7th century A.D. called it "Stone Gate"[38] and Alberuni in 11th century A.D. called it "Babrahan"[39], while its ancient name was Bārāhmūlā or Varāhmūlā, the Sanskrit form of Bārāmula.[40] Yuan-Chwang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, entered Kashmir Via Varāhmūlā[41] in Circa 629 A.D.[42] Alberuni

32. Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 146.
33. M.B. Pithawalla, *Geology & Geography of Kashmir*, p. 106 ;
Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, p. 26, fn. 147 ;
34. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 199 ;
Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 528.
35. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 528.
36. Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 146.
37. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 259 ;
Moorcrafts, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 114 ;
Ou-Kong, Stein, M.A., p. 8 ;
R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments*, pp. 6-7.
38. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 261.
39. *Alberuni's India*, p. 206.
40. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1871, pp. 91, 100 ;
Bühler's Report, p. 11.
Varāhmūlā is the Sacred town from Vishnu's Avtāra as 'Varāh' the primeval board. (Bühler's Report, p. 12).
41. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 68 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 258-261;
Ou-Kong, Stein, M.A., pp. 8, 23 ;
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 83.
42. *Ibid*, p. 14 ;
Pannikkar, *India and China*, p. 78.

says that it is the best known entrance to Kashmir[43] and he entered the country by this gate.[44] Ou-Kong, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, also entered Kashmir through Bārāmūla or Varāhmūla Pass[45] in 759 A.D.[46]

The other passes are :- (2) Punch or Pukli Pass. It lies 33°.4′ North Latitude and 74°.9′ East Longitude;[47] (3) Gulmarg Pass. It lies in Latitude 34°.1′ North and Longitude 74°.4′ East;[48] (4) Tcshamaidan Pass. 14,000 ft. It is the shortest route leading into the valley of Punch.[49] Yuan Chwang probably followed this route on his way to Punch.[50] (5) Sung-i-Sufed Pass[51]; (6) Pīr Panjāl Pass 11,400 ft., lies in the South West of Kashmir.[52] (7) Nandan Sar Pass.[53] (8) Sedau or Budal Pass 14,000 ft.[54] (9) Kuri Pass.[55] (10) Kol-Nārawa or Kuligam Pass[56] (11) Bānihal 9,200 ft. It is the lowest pass in the Pīr Panjāl range. It forms the outer boundry of the valley and is 3,000 ft. above its level.[57] With the construction of Jawahar Tunnel in 1953 this pass is open throughout the year. (12) Sir-i-Bul and (13) Mir-Bul (11,570 ft.) passes connect Kashmir

43. *Alberuni's India*, p. 206.
44. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 83;
Alberuni's India, p. 206.
45. *Ou-Kong*, Stein, M.A., p. 8;
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geogrophy*, pp. 18, 83.
46. *Ou-Kong*, Stein, M.A., p. 1;
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Grography*, p. 18.
47. M.B. Pithawalla, *Geology Geography of Kashmir*, 1953, p. 108.
48. *Ibid*, p. 106.
49. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 15;
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 80;
Vigne's Travels Vol. I, p. 47.
50. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 81.
51. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 147.
52. H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, p. 108;
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 72;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 15, says it is 15,000 ft.
53. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 147.
54. *Ibid*.
55. *Ibid*., p. 148.
56. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 148.
57. Lydekkar, *Geology of Kashmir & Chamba*, p. 72.

with Kishtwar.[58] (14) Na-bug-nyh pass connects the valley of Muruwardwun and joins with Ladakh via Perkuchi path.[59] (15) Pehlgam, 17,000 ft. Every year thousands of pilgrims visit Amar Nath cave in the month of August-September via this pass, which is thought to be Shiva's residence.[60] (16) Koh-i-Hamon. This pass joins Duras through the valley of Tilyl.[61] (17) Gurez. It connects Kashmir with Astor and Baltistan.[62] (18) Lalab 6,000 ft, joins the valley with Gurez.[63] (19) Nattishannar 10,200 ft. joins Kashmir with Muzaffarabad[64] and (2) Zoji-la-Pass 11,300 ft. It is known by its Ladakhi name of Zozi-la.[65] It is called Durus by Vigne, perhaps because here the river Sindh drains into the Dras river.[66] It connects Kashmir from Sonamarg with Ladakh, Tibet and China and Turkistan.[67]

These passes connected Kashmir with Ladakh, Tibet, China, Turkistan and other Central Asian countries and made Kashmir a famous land for the spread of Buddhism beyond the Himalayas.

Rivers

The Jhelum or Behāt or Vihāt known as Vedastā[68] in

58. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 148.
59. *Ibid*.
60. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 91;
Vigne's Travels, Vol. I, p. 148.
61. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 149. Between Kashmir and Skardu (8,873 ft.) lies Dras, through which a road runs to Leh (Tibet's Capital) and Yārkand.
62. J.A.S.B., 1899, Vol. 68, Part II, p. 105;
Vigne's Travels, Vol. I, p. 14.
63. *Ibid*., p. 149.
64. *Ibid*.
65. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 92.
66. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 149.
67. Stein, M.A., *Rajat*, Vol. II, p. 408;
Ou-Kong, Stein, M.A., p. 32;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 246;
H. Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultants*, p. 25.
68. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 163;
Mcrindle, *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, pp. 89, 109;
Mcrindle, *Ancient India in Greek and Latin Literature*, pp. 22-23, fn. 3.

Sanskrit is the chief river of the country. It is first formed into a river near Islamabad or Anantnāg where all the streams and rivulets which drain the South-Eastern mountains unite together. But according to tradition it rises from the Spring of Verīnāg, South-East extremity of Kashmir.[69] This river is navigable all through the valley and is a great highway between Kanebal and Srinagar.[70] The Dal Lake, the Manasa Bal Lake and the Wular Lake or Great Lake are connected with this river. Dūdgangā Stream formed with the waters that drain the South Western mountains, joins the river Jhelum on the left bank of the city of Srinagar.[71]

The other important Tributaries of the Vitastā are Suknāg from Gulmarg side, Rambiārā from Pir-Pass and Veshau from Konsar Nāg. They join it at Bijbeharā. The largest tributaries are Lidar and Sindh.[72] Joining all these tributaries the Jhelum leaves the valley at Bārāmūlā.[73]

Lakes

There are three big and important lakes connected with the Jhelum.

(1) *Dal Lake* is situated to the east of the city of Srinagar. It is formed of Springs and Streams descending from

69. Stein, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 64-65 ;
Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 163 ;
Bernier's Travels, p. 396 ;
Moorcrafts Travels, Vol. II, p. 110.

70. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 180.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 165 and 167.

72. Neve, *Tourist Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh and Skardu*, p. 37.
Bijbehārā is a town 29 miles from Srina gar. The Sind river takes its source from Jwajé-Lā-Pass. It forms its own valley and passing round the city falls into the river Behāt, at the distance of 7 kos in North Bank. (*Moorcrafts Travels*, Vol. II, p. 110)

73. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 163 ;
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 64 ;
Vigne's Travels, Vol. I, p. 283.

the surrounding mountains and contains a number of floating gardens.[74]

(2) *Mānsa Bal Lake* lies a mile away from the right bank of the river Jhelum towards the north-east of the valley. It is about three miles long and a mile wide and is nearly 47 ft. deep.[75]

(3) *Wūlar Lake* is the largest lake of Kashmir. It is formed by internal springs and is about ten miles long and six miles broad.[76]

Climate

In Kashmir it snows heavily and continuously for two and a half months beginning with Magha (December-January).[77] in the months of June, July and August the temperature rises to 90° in shade.[78]

Production

Rice is the important crop of the valley,[79] while wheat, hemp and many vegetables are also sown in abundance.[80]

Saffron is grown in abundance in some parts, specially in Pampur.[81] It is used for colouring the robes of Buddhist

74. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 165 ;
Bernier's Travels, p. 398 ;
Moorcrafts Travels, Vol. II, pp. 112, 115.

75. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 167.

76. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 166
Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 114 ;
Moorcraft's Travels, Vol. II, p. 111.

77. *Alberuni's India*, pp. 211-212.

78. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 149.

79. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 120 ;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 319
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 250.

80. *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 350.

81. *Vigne's Travels*, pp. 32, 33 ;
Rajat., I, V. 42 ;
Bikramank., XVIII,, V. 72 ;
Watter's *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 262.

monks.[82] This plant was first brought by the Buddhist monk Madhyantika from Gandhamādanā mountains and was introduced in Kashmir. Saffron is the Tibetan name and Ye-Chin is the Chinese version.[83]

Kashmir grows 18 to 20 varieties of grapes,[84] and plenty of apples, pears, apricots, peaches, cherries plums, walnuts, almonds, chestnuts, and melons.

Capital

Srinagar or Suryanagar is the ancient Hindu as well as the present name of the capital.[85] It lies between two mountains Hari Parbat 500 ft. high and Takht-i-Sulaimān 1000 ft. high.[86] The river Jhelum flows through the capital and connects both the parts of the city with bridges.[87] Upto 1958 there were seven bridges,[88] but now there are nine bridges. Yuan-Chwang visited the capital in 631 A.D. and his description applies to the present capital Srinagar.[89] The old capital

82. D.D. Kosambi, *Origin of Feudalism in Kashmir,* vide J.R.A.S. Bombay, Vol. 31 and 32, 1959, p. 109.
83. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 262.
Saffron was first introduced in Kashmir by the Buddhist monk Nyi-Mahi-Gung (*Dul-va.* Vol. XI, Leaf No. 687 Tr. by Alexender Csomā in *Asiat. Res.* Vol. XX, 1939, p. 92). Gandhamādanā mountain is situated in the South of Mount Merū called Sumerū or Hemamerū or Mahāmerū and Sinerū in Buddhist literature (*Cosmo and Geography*, pp. 39, 45). Mahābhāratā locates Merū or Sumerū mountain beyond the Himālāyās near the Central Asian deserts (*M. Bh.* XVII, 2.1-2).
84. *Moorcrafts Travels*, Vol. II, p. 150.
85. Wakefield, *Happy Valley Sketches*, p. 91 ;
Bernier's Travels, p. 397.
86. John Collett, *A Guide*, p. 74.
87. *Alberuni's India*, p. 206 ;
Bernier's Travels, p. 393 ;
John Collett, *A Guide*, p. 13.
88. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography*, p. 152 ;
Bernier's Travels, p. 398.
89. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 261.

founded by Aśoka (273-236 B.C.)[90] is the modern village of Pandrathan at about two miles from Takht-i-Sulaimān.[91]

Gardens

Kashmir has several beautiful gardens. On the Dal Lake there are three extensive and lonely gardens, the Nishāt Bāgh, the Shālāmar Bāgh and Nasīm Bāgh.[92]

Means of Communications

Horses.[93] carriages, elephants[94] and boats[95] were the only means of communication in olden days. Now-a-days all the modern conveyances--buses, cars, tongas and scooters are common. It has air link with India and hence with the world at large.

Inhabitants

Nīlamata Purāṇā which was compiled in the 6th or 7th century A.D.,[96] says that Kashmir was inhabited by fourteen tribes. They were the Nāgas,[97] Piśācās,[98] the Dārvas, the Abhisārs, the Gāndhāras, the Juhuṇḍras the Śakas, the Khaśas, the Taṅgṇas, the Māṇḍvas, the Madras, the Antarigiris, the

90. *Rajat*, I. 104 (Date is taken from *The Age of Imp. Unity*, p. 71).
91. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Geography.*, p ; 138
Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1871, p. 93 ;
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 384.
92. Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir, Territories*, p. 186.
93. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 258, 262 ;
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 350.
94. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 258-260.
95. *Forster's Travels*, p. 6 ;
Wakefield, *Happy Valley Sketches*, p. 103.
96. *Bühler's Report*, p. 41.
97. *Nilamata* (Ed. by Vreese), V.V. 47-70, 901, 625, 627.
98. *Ibid*, V.V. 201, 204-207, 213, 215, 244, 326, 327, 328, 330, 376, 392, 447, 555, 586, 659, 661, 837.

Behirgiris and the Yavanas.[99] Nagas are mentioned as the inhabitants of Kashmir when it was a Satidesha.[100]

Nagas were the first inhabitants who were initiated to Buddhism in Kashmir by the monk Madhyāntika.[101] They were the serpent worshipping non-Arayan tribes of ancient India.[102] According to C.F. Oldham they were Sun-worshippers. They spoke Sanskrit and their totam was Naga or hooded serpent.[103] According to another opinion they were Dravidians who inhabited the Northern part of India before the immigration of Arayans to India.[104] We find the earliest reference about them on the seals of Mohenjadaro.[105]

According to Yuan-Chwang, Kanishka wanted to hold a religious assembly of Buddhists outside the valley. But Parshva and others councelled him to hold it in Kashmir, because it had natural defence of mountains, rich soil and spiritual people. Thus to arrange the scriptures and compose Vibhāṣā Śāstrā the Buddhist assembly was convened in Kashmir.[106]

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99. *Ibid*, V.V. 80, 139 ; V. 943 (यवन प्रिय)
100. *Ibid*, V. 69 (Kashmir a Satidesha V.V. 66, 68).
101. *Dul-va*, Vol. XI leaf 687, Anal. by Alaxander Csoma, vide *Asiat. Res.* Vol. XX 1839, p. 92 ;
Mahāvaṃsa, XII V.V. 1-28 ;
Mahāvaṃsa, Turnour's Tr., pp. 72-73.
102. B.C. Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, p. 44 ;
D.C. Sarkar, *The Age of Imp. Unity*, p. 168.
Śaṅkhapāla Jātakā, *Jātakā*, Vol. V, pp. 161 ff. Manikantha Jātakā etc. *Jātakā* Vol. II, p. 282 ff describe the serpent worshippers the first to accept Buddha's teachings.
103. C.F. Oldham, *Serpent Worship in India*, vide J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 391.
104. L.B. Kenny, *Nagas in Magadha*, vide J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVIII, p. 163.
Furgussan opines that they (Nāgas) were a race of Turanian stock who lived in Northern India and were conquered by the war-like Arayanas. But he maintains that Arayans and Dravidians were not serpent worshippers (Furgussan, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873, pp. 60-61).
105. *Civilization*, 1931, Seal plates CXVI and CXVIII.
106. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 192.
Parmaratha in the life of Vasubandhu says, Kashmir had mountains on all sides and was like a fortified town. It had one well-guarded gate, and was an ideal site for a religious assembly. (*Toung Pao*, Vol. V, p. 279).

CHAPTER II

ADVENT OF BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

There is a controversy about the date of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir.

One theory is that it was introduced 50 years[1] after the death of Buddha, while according to the other it was introduced by Aśoka after his Buddhist Council.[2]

According to popular belief[3] it was introduced by Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. This tradition agrees with Aśokavadāna[4], according to which Aśoka's Councellor Moggliputra

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1. Beal, *Si-Yu-ki*, Vol. II (1958), p. 189;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 265.
2. *Mahāvaṃśa*, XII. V.V. 1-3.
3. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 1 ;
H.H. Wilson, *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XV, p. 112 ;
Eliot, *Hindu and Buddh.*, Vol. I, p. XXIII ;
B.C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 208.
Tarikh-i-Hussan, Vol. I, p. 426.
4. *Aśokavadāna*, (L.E.A., p. 55) ; This tradition is followed in :-
1. *Dipvaṃśa*, Ch. VIII;
2. *Mahāvaṃśa*, Ch. XII, VV. 1-28 ;
3. *Thupvaṃśa*, (Tr. by B.C. Law, 1945), p. 42 ;
4. *Sāsnāvaṃśa*, Ch. VII and
5. Sthavir-vād-parampara vide *Buddhcharya*, p. 576.

Tiṣsa deputed Majjhantika, a Buddhist of Varānasi to propagate Buddhism in Kashmir.[5] Majjhāntika won over the ruler and the people of that region, on account, it is said, of his supernatural powers.[6] The History of the mission of Majjhāntika receives confirmation in the inscription (Bhilsa Topes) discovered by Cunningham in the Tope No. 2 of Sanchi group. Here is inscribed in letters of 3rd century B.C. on the inner lid of the relic-Urn Supuriṣa Majjhima the teacher of all the Himalaya region.[7]

As has been referred Yuan-Chwang says that Buddhism in Kashmir was introduced by Mādhyantika fifty years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. According to Dul-va and Bu-ston Buddhism in Kashmir appeared hundred years after the death of Sakyamuni. Obviously Bu-ston cannot be correct, for it adds that Buddhism was introduced by Aśoka[8] who lived for

Aśokavadāna was probably written between 150-100 B.C. (L.E.A. p. 172).
Dipvaṃśa was written in the beginning of the 4th and first half of the 5th century A.D. (Winternitz., *H.I.L.* p. 210)
Mahāvaṃśa was probably written by the poet Mahāvama who lived in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D, (Winternitz *H.I.L.*, p. 211).
Thupvaṃśa was written in 13th century (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, pp. 218-19).
Sāsnavaṃśa was written in Burma in 1861 by Monk Paunasami (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 219) B.C. Law, Intro. to Sāsnāvaṃśa.

5. *Dul-va*, Vol. XI, Alaxander Csoma vide *Asiat. Res.* Vol. XX, 1939, p. 92.
In *Aśokavadāna* Buddha goes to Kashmir and predicts the conversion of the country by Madhyāntika (*L.E.A. Intro.* p. 2).
6. Beal, *Si.Yu-ki*, pp. 189-190 ; *Dipvaṃśa* (Ed. & Tr. by H. Oldenberg) Ch. VIII, VV. 4.13 ; *Sasnavaṃśa* (Tr. by B.C. Law), Ch. VII, pp. 165-167 ; *Mahāvaṃśa*, Ch. XII ; Majjhāntika was a Thero who lived in the time of Moggliputta Tissa, according to Buddhaghoṣa vide *Vinayapitkam* (Ed. by H. Oldenberg), p. 312.
7. Cunningham, *Bhilsa* Topes, pp. 287, 316 ;
Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 196.
Wilhem Geiger, *Mahāvaṃśā*, Intro. p. XIX says that these were the funeral Urns of Majjhāntika who converted Kashmir to Buddhism and is related in *Dipvaṃśa* and *Mahāvaṃśa*.
8. *Dul-va*, Anal. of Alaxander Csoma, Tr. by H.H. Wilson vide J.A.S.B., 1832, Vol. I, p. 6 ;
Bu-Ston, Part II, Tr. by Obermiller, 1932, p. 97.

more than nearly two hundred years after Buddha. Kalhana though not a very reliable authority says that there were Vihāras in Kashmir before Aśoka.[9] Moreover we are told that Aśoka invited Buddhist missionaries from Kashmir to participate in his religious council.[10]

It is thus clear that there existed Buddhism in Kashmir before the reign of Aśoka and the latter monarch too sent missionaries to the valley to popularise the religion. According to Dipvaṃśa and Mahāvaṃśa missionaries were sent to Kashmir after the Buddhist Council convened by Aśoka.[11] It is certain that Buddhism became a popular religion of the valley on account of the efforts of Aśoka's missionaries in 3rd Century B.C.

The School of Buddhism in Kashmir

Buddhism split up into 18 sects[12] after the Nirvāṇa of

9. *Rajat*, I, VV. 94, 98, 101-102.
10. *Divyavadāna* (Cowell and Neil, 1886), p. 399.
Some passages of this Avadāna were written before 3rd Century A.D while the collection could not have existed before 414 century A.D. (Winternitz. *H.I.L.*, pp. 285-86).
On the basis of legendary evidence of the activities of Sthaviras in Kashmir, a suggestion is made that, Aśoka derived his doctrines from the true fountain of tradition in Kashmir rather than from Magadha. (A.B. Keith, *Buddh. Phil.*, p. 152).
11. *Dipvaṃśa*, Ch. VIII ;
Mahāvaṃśa, Ch. XII, VV. 1-3.
12. *I-Tsing*, *Takakusu*, p. 6 ;
Toung-Pao, Vol. V, pp. 278, 290 ;
Bu-Ston (Tr. by Obermiller 1932), Part II, pp. 97-99 ; Schiefner, p. 59 ;
Nanjio Catal, Nos. 1284, 1285 and 1286 ;
Watters *Yuan-Ch.*, Preface p. 21 and *Yuan-Ch.*, p. 162. (One hundred years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, probably a Council at Vaiśali was convened to discuss the points of controversy over Vinaya and Dharma principles. Certain Buddhists held a separate meeting at Kaushambi. As the Vaiśāli Buddhists were very old they were known as Sthaviras and the latter were known as Mahāsāṅghikas. These two branches of Buddhists were further sub-divided in 18 sects. (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 5, Rahulji, *Buddhcharya*, Intro. p. 2).
Aṣṭadeṣnikāya also called 'Samayabhedoparcanacakara' gives an account of the separation of 18 sects. (*J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 68).

Buddha. Of these Sarvästiväda seems to be of more interest.[13] though all these are based on the teachings of Lord Buddha[14] and all believe in Moksha as the ultimate end.[15] This division was based upon Vinaya and Abhidharma principles.[16]

Sarvästiväd School is one of the oldest.[17] In the commentary of Badrayana's vedänta sutra, it (Sarvästiväd) is mentioned as the first.[18] It belongs to the Hinayana group of Buddhism.[19] developed between 100-200 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,[20] and acquired great popularity from Aśoka's (C. 273-236 B. C.) reign to the time of I-Tsing's (671-695 A. D.) travels in India.[21] Its history in the Indian records begins with Moggaliputra Tiṣṣa's Kathävathhu, who was the head of

13. *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 68.
14. *Bu-Ston* (Tr. by Obermiller 1932), p. 97 ;
N. Dutt. *Outlines of the Mahāyāna*, p. 24.
15. N. Dutt, *Outlines of the Mahāyāna*, p. 24.
16. Rahulji, Intro. to *Buddhcharya*, p. 2.
17. Takakasu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 67.
It was closely related to orthodox Theravāda School from which it was probably separated before Aśoka's Council. Its principle 'Sabban Atti' may be attributed to Buddha himself. (Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddh "Philosophy*, p. 57).
Dipvaṃśa (4th Century A.D.) mentions it. (Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1904-5, p. 67.
The Sarvāstivādins are also called Hetuvādins or Vibhajyavādins with the Vātśputriyas and their sub-divisions of Dharmottarīyas, Badrāyānniyas, Sammatiyas or Sammitiyas and Saṇṇāgarikas (A.B. Keith ; *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 150).
18. *Bibl. Indic.*, A.S.B., Calcutta, Vol. I, 1863, p. 546
तत्रैतो त्रयो बादिनो भवन्ति, केचित् सर्वास्तित्वादिनः, केचिद्विज्ञानान्ति त्व मात्र वादिनः।
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 73.
19. *I-Tsing*, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXII ;
Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, pp. 231-32.
20. *I-Tsing*, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXI ;
Rahulji, Intro. to *Buddhcharya*, p. 2.
21. Takakusu, *Essential of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 56.

Aśoka's Council.[22] The founder of this sect, according to Tibetan tradition was Rahul Bhadra,[23] while according to popular belief it was founded by Upgupta in Mathura and Majjhäntika in Kashmir.[24]

During Fa-hien's time (399-414 A.D.), this school flourished in Patliputra as well as in China.[25] During Yuan-Chwang's (629-645 A.D.) time it was found in Käsgar Udyana, and several other places on the Northern frontier, in Malipura, Kanauj, near Rajgrha in Northern India and also in Persia.[26] By 671-695 A.D., according to I-Tsing, the Chief centres of the school were Magadha, Lata (Gujrat) and Sindh. South India and East India had a few followers; it prevailed largely in Java, Sumatra and Champa (lin-yi). Cochin-China had a few followers, and the minor sects of the school flourished in South-West and Eastern provinces of China and Central Asia.[27]

22. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 56.
I-Tsing, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXI.
Kathavastu or *Kathavathhu* discusses the points of controversy between different sects, Majority of which leaned to Mahasanghika School. (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vajra. Sang.*, Intro. p. XX).
Kathavathhu in the *Abhidharma Pitaka* was composed by Tiṣṣa son of Moggali at the Court of Aśoka at patliputra in the middle of 3 B.C., this tradition is not recorded till 5th Century A.D. in the commentaries of Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosha. (Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Pts. of controversy*, pp. XXX).
Winternitz on the basis of La Valle Poussin believes that the real work may have been written by Tiṣṣa in 3rd Century B.C., but the work which we get contains numerous additions made from time to time (Winternitz., *History of India Literature*, pp. 170-71).
Kathāvathhu contains the account of the sects and schools which sprang up in the earliest Buddhist Community (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 208).
23. *The Age of Imp. Unity*, p. 380.
Rahul Bhadra was of kashtriya caste. He was devoted to the three Disciplines (*Bu-Ston*) (Tr. by Obermiller) Part II, p. 100).
24. N. Dutt, *Hina and Maha.*, p. 32 (See footnotes 6 and 7 of this chapter).
25. *Fa-hein*, Legge, Ch. 39, p. 99.
26. *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, p. 420.
27. *I-Tsing*, Takakusu, Intro., pp. XXII-XXIV.
Fa-hein, Parmartha A.D. 499-569, Yuan-Chwang and I-Tsing use the word 'Sa-pho-to' for Sarvāstivāda (*J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 72).

The Sarvāstivāda mostly flourished in the North.[23] Its earliest centre was Mathura.[29] It was held in great esteem from Mathura to Nagara (Hara) and from Takṣaśila to Kashmir,[30] from where it was propagated in Central Asia, Tibet and China.[31]

It is said that Buddhists retired[32] to Kashmir in order to maintain their own views in the struggle with other and rival sects. The principal seat of this school became Kashmir,

28. N. Dutt., *Hina and Maha.*, p. 32 ;
The Age of Imp. Unity, p. 380 ;
P.V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddh.*, p. 63 ;
N.N. Law, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 114;
I-Tsing, Takakusu, Intro., p. XIV.

29. *The Age of Imp. Unity*, p. 380.
With the rise of Shungas in 2nd century B.C., Brahamanas started hating Buddhists. So they shifted to Mathura i.e. Arya Sthavirvād to Sanchi and Sarvāstivās to Mathura. Reaching Mathura Sarvāstivād changed a little and were known as Arya Sarvāstivād (Rahulji, Intro. to *Buddhcharya*, p. 3).
The Sathaviras were the rivals of Sarvāstivādin School (*L.E.A.*, p. 207)
The Sthaviras were sub-divided into Sarvāstivādins and Vatsiputriyas omitting the Mahicāsakas as a link between Sthaviras and the Sarvāstivādins (A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 149).
A Sarvāstivād Acharya, Buddhila is mentioned in inscriptions on the lion Capitol in Mathura dating from 2nd century A.D. (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 232).
It appears that Sarvāstivāda School first developed at Mathura and then its off-shoots extended in North-West direction. Following the Western route it lost no time in annaxing Kashmir and Gandhar to itself. The secondary group arising out of Mathura school gradually grew in separate bodies of Kashmirian sect, in order to prove its attachment to the primitive tradition assumed the name Mul-Sarvāstivādin (Dilip Kumar Biswas., *L.E.A.*, Intro. p. 13), p. 80.

30. P.V. Bapat, *2500 years of Buddh.*, p. 63.

31. N.N. Law, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 114 ; Winternitz., *H.I.L.*, pp. 231-32 ; N. Dutt., *Hina and Maha.*, p. 32, adds that between 350 B.C. 100 B.C. it spread in Northern India and a portion of South India.

32. *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 145.

where its doctrine was taught in its purity,[33] and developed into an elobrate system known as Vaibhāshikās.[34] Its language was Sanskrit and badges were an Utpal flower, a lotus, a jewel and the leaf of a tree.[35]

Paramāratha in the life of Vasubandhu says, that Arhat Katya-Yani-putra of India six centuries after the death of Buddha, went to Kashmir, collected the Abhidharma belonging to Sarvāstivāda school and arranged them in eight separate Ka-lan-ta (Grantha books),[36] otherwise called Jñānaprasthāna. This work was translated in Chinese in A.D. 383.[37] It is the

33. *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 69 ;
N. Dutt., *Hina and Maha.*, p. 32 ;
I-Tsing, Takakusu, Intro., pp. XXI-XXII ;
Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 58.
Kashmir was to the Sarvāstivādins what Ceylon was to Therāvādins (*J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 69).

34. Vide *this Chapter* pp. 33-36.

35. *Bu-ston*, (Tr. by Obermiller) Part II, pp. 99-100.
Lācote Essai Sur Gunāḍhya, et. la, *Brihatkathā*, p. 44., quoted in L.E.A., pp. 12-13.

36. *Toung Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 276-77 ;
J.R.A.S., Jan. 1905, p. 52.
Paramaratha (499-569 A.D.) was a great Indian monk who compiled Vasubandhu's biography. It has been translated from Chinese by J. Takakusu in *T'oung Pao* V. 1904, pp. 1.
Abhidharma Pitaka of Pali canon is a work of Vibhajyavādins. Abhidharma Pitaka of Sarvāstivādins is a collection of Vinaya and Sutta on the lines of Pali canon. It was possibly at first written in some Prakrit but latter on in Sanskrit. (A.B. Keith ; *Buddhist Phil.*, pp. 153-54).
Vasubandhu vide Ch. IV of this thesis.

37. *Toung-Pao*, Vol. V, p. 276 ;
Nanjio Catal., No. 1273 ;
J.R.A.S., Jan. 1905, p. 52 ;
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 74.
Otherwise it is called Aṣta-granthā and was probably compiled in 200 B.C. (Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 57).
Watters observes that there is no proof that the Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya Vibhāṣa corresponds exactly to the work produced by the 3rd Council (Y. Ch. Travels in India I, p. 276). This is the only version of Vinayavibhāṣa actually known to us. (*L.E.A.*, p. 203).

principal work of this School.[38]

The Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism flourished in Kashmir. It was founded by Majjhāntika and its Abhidharma text was compiled by Katyāyānīputra.

The Principal Works of the School

The school possessed seven Abhidharma Texts.[39] These

38. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 57.
Nanjio Catal, No. 1273.
J.R.A.S., Jan. 1905, pp. 52, 161.

39. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 73 ;
Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 134 ;
Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 56.
Dharma is the general teaching of Buddha and Abhidharma is the special metaphysical discourse brought forward by certain elders. Abhidharma School arose after Aśokan Council (240 B.C.) because its seven texts were recognised as one of the Tripitakas (three baskets) at this council. During the period of the I and II councils there were only two pitakas-Sutra (discourse of Buddha) and Vinaya (discipline). At Aśokan Council Abhidharma was added to make Tripitakas. (Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 56). Abhidharma literature developed between C. 350-100 B.C. (N. Dutt, *Hina and Maha.*, pp. 5-6, 34 ; Winternitz., *H.I.L.* Vol II, pp. 8-9).
Dharma is considered as the fundamental or regular nature of a thing in Buddhism. (*Milindapañho*, p. 234. *Majjhima Nikāya* I. 320 ; *Saṁyutta Nikāya* I. 140 ; *Dīgha Nikāya* III 147).
The thought of the Mahayāna and Sautrāntikas developed as a reaction to the Abidharma of the Sarvāstivādins (E. Conze, *Buddhism* p. 92).
The words falling from the mouth of Buddha are reproduced in scriptures, of two classes : (1) Three baskets (Tripitaka) which are the law of the listeners (Śravakas) and (2) Mahāyāna, the law of the greater vehicle. During the life time of Buddha the expression Tripitakas was not in use. There were only Bhikshus upholding the Sutras and Vinaya and lastly another group adhering to Matrika. Sutrā is the name of sacred Texts contained in the four Agmas and of the sacred literature of the Mahāyāna. Sutras of Mahāyāna are called great Sutras. The Texts coming under these two categories, both of the Greater and Lesser vehicles the 250 prohibitions (Pratimoksha) and other analogous works are precisely called Sutras (Ta-Che-tuluen, Chap. C. *Tripitika* Ed. Tokyo, 5, p. 105a, Col. 20, vide *L.E.A.* p. 219).

existed prior to the compilation of Mahāvibhāṣas and were widely studied in Kashmir.[40]

The Vaibhāṣikas depending on Vibhāṣa literature prepared during the reign of Kaniksha believed in the existence of both the external and internal worlds, though both the worlds are Kṣaṇika or momentary. (Adv. Vaj. Sang. H.P. Shastri, P. XXV)

1. Abhidharma Jñanaprasthāna-Śastra

It was composed by Arhat Katyayaniputra 300 years after the Nirvaṇa of Buddha.[41] It (Jñanaprasthāna) is the body (Kaya) of the Sarvāstivāda, having six pāda (feet) and is in 1,000,000 syllables in all. The relations between the two are the same as between six Vedangas and the Veda.[42] There exist two different translations of this text in Chinese with two names 'Aṣṭagrantha' or Attha-grantha and Jñanaprasthāna.[43] One of the translations is by Yuan-Chwang (657-660 A.D.) and the other jointly by the Kashmirian monk Gautma Sanghadeva and Fo-nien (383 A.D.) exist.[44]

40. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, pp. 80-81.
Vibhāṣā is the commentary of the work (Takakusu, *J.RA.S.*, 1905, p. 52).
Chinese call Vibhāṣās as the extensive analysis (*Toung Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 278-279).

41. Nanjio Catal. Nos. 1273 and 1275 ;
Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 57 writes that Aṣtagrantha was probably compiled in 200 B.C.

42. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 74 ;
Toung Pao, Vol. V, p. 276 ;
Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhīst Philosophy*, p. 57.

43. *Nanjio Catal*, Nos. 1273 and 1275.
This confirms Paramaratha's (A.D. 499-569) statement in the life of Vasubandhu that this work had two different names (*Toung-Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 276-277 ; *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 82).

44. *Nanjio Catal*, Nos. 1273 and 1275 ;
Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 134.

2. *Sangiti-Paryayapāda - (Śāstra)*

It was compiled according to Yasomitra by Mahakauśthila and by Sariputra according to Chinese authorities. It is the first of the six pāda which suppliments Katyāyāniputra's Jñanaprasthāna.[45] This work was probably first compiled by Mahākausthila after the council of Vaiśali and later on ascribed to Sariputra, because he is the hero of the narrative throughout the work.[46]

3. *Abhidharma-Prakaraṇapāda (Śāstra)*

This was composed by the venerable Vasumitra and is the 2nd of the six pāda works of Sarvāstivāda-nikāya. This was translated by Yuan-Chwang in 659 A.D.[47] Its two translations exist in Chinese, which seem to have been made from the same recension of the text. According to Yuan-Chwang this work was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puṣkarvati.[48] Its original name must have been 'Abhidharmaprakaraṇa,' but when it assumed a position among the supplementary treatise as pāda work, it might have come to be known as 'Prakaraṇapāda.' Prakarṇa in Chinese means clasıfication.[49]

4. *Abhidharma-Vijñānakayapāda (Śāstra)*

This is the third of the six pāda works of Sarvāstivāda-nikāya. It was composed by Arhat Devasarman, one hundred

45. *Nanjio Catal*, No. 1276 ;
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 99. It is added that Mahakausthila is the compiler according to Yaṣomitra's Abhidharmakoṣa.Vyākhya.
46. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 100.
47. *Nanjio Catal*, No. 1277. Benoytosh, vide *Tattva Sangrah* Vol. I, p. LV. ; *Vasumitra* was an Arhat of the 500 hundred Arhats who attended Kaniksha's Council (Nanjio Catal I. 33). His two other works of Sarvāstivāda school are (1) Aṣṭadaśanikākya-Śāstra, a work on the views of the eighteen different schools of Buddhism and (2) Araya-Vasumitrabodhisattvasaṅgitiśāstra (Benoytosh Bhattacharya vide forward *Tattvasangraha*, p. LV). Refer to *J.P.T.S.* (1903) p. 80, fn. 2 and Watters, *Yuan-Ch.* Vol. I, p. 274.
48. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 214.
49. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 103.

years after Buddha's Nirvaṇa. It was translated by Yuan-Chwang in 649 A.D.[50] According to Takakusu, the title means "Body or group of subjects, connected with consciousness."[51] Yuan-Chwang says that it was compiled by Devaśarmā in P'i-sho-ka (Viśoka) near Srāvasti.[52]

5. *Abhidharma-Dhatukayapāda — (Śāstra)*

It was composed according to Yaśomitra by Purna and by Vasumitra 300 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa, according to Chinese authorities. It is the fourth of the six pāda works of Sarvāstivāda-nikāya and was translated by Yuan-Chwang in 663 A.D.[53] Its original Sanskrit text seems to have existed in two or three versions. According to Yuan-Chwang's disciple Kuei-Chi, the larger text consisted of 6,000 ślokas, while the middle and smaller ones were of 900 and 500 ślokas respectively. Yuan-Chwang translated the middle text which is of 830 ślokas.[54]

6. *Abhidharma— (dharma) —Skandhapāda-Śastra*

It was composed according to Yasomitra by Sariputra and by Mahāmaudglyāyana according to Chinese authorities. It was translated by Yuan-Chwang in 659 A.D. It is the fifth of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivāda-nikāya.[55] In spite of its being placed in the supplementary pādas, it is not inferior in its matter and form to the principal work of the school, i.e. Jñanaprasthāna. It does not give details of metaphysical questions like the principal work of the school, but it treats of all the points of the fundamental principles of this school. Due to its importance the author of Sangiti-paryāya often quotes it.[56]

50. *Nanjio Catal*, No. 1281 ;
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 107.
51. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 107.
52. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 373.
53. *Nanjio Catal*, No. 1282, it adds Purna was the compiler according to Yasomitra's Abhidhara's Abhidharmakoṣa-Vyakhya.
54. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 103.
55. *Nanjio Catal.*, No. 1296.
56. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 111.

7. *Pragnaptipada-Śastra*

It was composed by Mahamaudgalyayana according to Yaśomitra. It is the 6th or the last of the six pada works of Sarvāstivāda-nikaya. It was translated by Fa-hu (Dharmaraksha?) and others in A.D. 1004-1058 of the later Sun dynasty A.D. 960-1127.[57] It is the authentic pāda of the school. It was translated for the first time in A.D. 1004-1058.[58]

It has already been related that according to Parmārtha, Katyāyāni-putra of Sarvāstivāda school, collected the teachings of Abhidharma School in Kashmir. After this compilation, it was thought to compose Bi-bāsha (Vibhāśa) to explain the meaning.[59] Katyayāniputra sent for Aśvaghosh of Saketa. He came to Kashmir and put Vibhāśa into a literary form in twelve years. It consisted of 1,000,000 verses.[60] It is called Abhidharma Mahavibhāṣā-Śāstra.[61] The original work is lost.[62]

By Katyayāniputra's orders, Mahavibhāṣā-Śāstra remained guarded in Kashmir till Vasubhadra of Ayodhya with his

57. *Nanjio Catal.*, No. 1317.
58. Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 116.
59. *Toung-Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 276-278.
Madhavacarya in 14th century reviews Vaibhaṣikās in his Sarvāstivāda Sangrah (Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha, Ed. by Vasudeva Śastri 1924, Chap. 2, p. 19).
Vaibhāṣikā was the latter application of the philosophies of Sarvāstivāda, the developed work of Katyayāniputra's Abhidharmajñaprasthāna Śastra (Satish Chander, *Indian Logic*, p. 66 ; *I-Tsingh*, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXI).
60. *Toung-Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 278-279.
61. *Nanjio Catal.*, Nos. 1279, 1273, 1263 and 1264. It adds, No. 1273 and 1264 were translated in A.D. 383 and (437-439 A.D.) respectively. No. 1263 was translated by Yuan-Ch. in 656-659 A.D. The title indicates the commentary on various opinions which were collected selected discussed minutely and recorded. The object in doing so was to transmit the correct exposition of Abhidharma School called Vaibhaṣa School. (Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist* ɋ*hilosophy*, p. 56).
62. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 135 ;
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 70.

sternous efforts committed them to memory and took them out of Kashmir, posing as a mad man.[63]

Yuan-Chwang records that 500 saints and sages along with Vasumitraa ssembled in Kashmir in Kanishta's council and discussed the three Pitakas. As a results of thorough discussion of Buddhist literature, the commentaries on Sutra Pitaka, Vinaya Pitaka and Abhidharma Pitaka were written. They were called Upadeśa Śastra, Vinaya Vibhāsha Śastra and Abhidharma Vibhāsha Śastra respectively. They contain the explanation of the minutest expression of every Piṭaka in 1,00,000 verses. Altogether there are thirty myriad of verses in six hundred and sixty myriad of words.[64]

Bu-Ston records that a treatise called Mahavibhāṣa containıng 100,000 ślokas which summarise the seven Abhidharma treatises and the Vinaya, was composed in Kashmir by Arhats Cantiman, Kalijita and many others.[65] The original Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivāda school is lost[66] but we know about it

63. *Toung Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 279-81 ;
J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 52 ;
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 119.
64. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, pp. 193-94 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 270-72.
Pitaka is an oval shaped cane-basket with a pyramidal lid, the whole is covered with leather. It contains manuscripts (Law, *Buddhistic* Studies, p. 846).
65. *Bu-Ston* (Tr. by Obermiller, 1932), p. 142.
The following writers refer to Kashmir in connection with the compilation of Vibhāṣās.
Vasubandhu compiled the prose text of Abhidharma Koṣa at the request of Kashmir—Vaibhaṣikās (Toung Pao) Vol. V, p. 287-288 ; Watters *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 210 ; (*J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 132).
Abhidharmakoṣa refers to Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas seven times and ten times as 'P' i-p'o Sho masters (Vaibhāṣikas) (*J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 134).
Samyapradipika quotes Kashmir-Vaibhāṣikas as authority (*J.P.T.S.*, pp. 137-139).
Mahāvibhāṣa is the commentary of Katyayāni-putra's *jñānaprasthāna*. It developed in Kashmir (*J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 69 ; Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 56 ;
Eliot, *Hindu and Buddh.*, Vol. II, p. 90 ; *The Age of Imp. Unity*, p. 380).
66. *Bagchi, India and China*, p. 135;
J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 70.

from (1) large and small fragments discovered among the MSS and block prints brought from Eastern Turkistan by M.A. (Sir Aurel) Stein, A Grundwedel, A Von Le Coq, P. Pelliot and others, (2) from the quotations in Mahāvastu Divyavadāna, Lalitavistāra and (3) from Chinese and Tiberan translations. No complete copy of the canon is available. There are many similar and many different points in this Sarvāstivāda's Sanskrit and Pāli canon.[67]

The work was engraved on copper sheets, enclosed in a stone box and deposited in a stupa.[68] They were put under a guard and were forbidden to be taken out of Kashmir.[69] Vaibhāṣā-śāstras have such close association with Kashmir that they are called Kashmirshi in Chinese.[70]

The Principles of Sarvāstivāda School

The basic principle of the Sarvāstivāda School is 'Sabbam Atthiti' or Sarvam Asti.'[71] The whole reality is comprehended under a division into 75 kinds of existence or dharmas of which three alone are uncompounded, and are neither being produced nor dessolving. (1) Ether (ākāça) which is free from obstruction and therefore is regarded as a permanent omnipresent

67. Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 232.
68. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 271,
Beal, *si-yu-ki*, p 194 ;
Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 239 ;
V.A Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 132.
There is no information uptil now (1972) about the location of this stupa.
69. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, p. 278 ;
V.A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 132;
Toung-Pao, Vol. V, p. 279 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 194.
70. *Toung-Pao*, Vol. V, pp. 276-281 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, p. 277.
71. *Samutta-Nikāya*, XII. 15. 7 ; *Kathāvatthu*, 1, 6, 7 ;
Dipvaṃsa (Ed. by B.C. Law 1957) Ch. V, VV. 47-48.
Sabbam Atti may be the utterance of Buddha (Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 57, *Kathāvatthu* I, 6. 7.

material substance. It may be treated as space, regarded as absolute real.[72] Implying its material character and positive nature Buddhists assert that on space or rather ether air rests.[73] (2) Unplanned destruction (apratisaṁkhyā-ñirodha). It denotes the essential character of things as ever perishing without cause. (3) Deliberate destruction (Pratisaṁkhyā-nirodha). It is the final deliverance from bondage which is attained by following the eight fold path : (a) Sammāditthi (Right views) seeing life as it is in accord with its three characteristics and four truths.[74] (b)Samma Sankappa (Right mindedness) to have friendly thoughts towards fellow human-beings and other forms of sentient life. (c) Samma vācā (Right speach) to speak kindly and truthfully and narrate incidents accurately. (d) Samma Kammanta (Right action) to act skilfully and sympathetically avoiding vain or violent efforts. (e) Samma ājiva (Right livelihood) to earn living without infringing lawful morality. (f) Samma vayāma (Right endeavour) avoiding and rejecting ignoable qualities and acquiring noble qualities. (g) Samma Sati (Right mindfulness) cultivating self reliance and equanimity. (h) Samma Samādhi (Right concentration) contemplation resulting in intellectual wisdom.

"The rest of the existence is made up of eleven material compounds, one mind ; forty-six mental compounds and forteen non-mental compounds. The essential character of matter is its power of obstruction to the organs of sense, a fact which contrasts it absolutely with the ether. The unit of matter is the atom (paramāṇu) which is complete as it rests on a four fold

72. A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 160.
73. *DN.* ii. 107 ; *Mil.* p. 68. *MKV.*, p. 166, quoted by A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 186.
74. A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 160.
Three characteristics are Dukkha, Anicca and Anatta. The four truths are :
(*a*) Life is subject to sorrow ;
(*b*) Sorrow is caused by ignorance which results in desire attachment ;
(*c*) This sorrow can be eliminated by desire-attachment ;
(*d*) The way to eliminate desire is attachment - detachment in particular to follow the eightfold path. (G.F. Allen, *Buddha's Philosophy*, p. 156).
Samyutta Nikāya V. 8 Explains the eight etoms of path.

obstruction of colour, small taste and touch. It is invisible, inaudible, intangible, without taste, indivisible and unanalysable. But it is not permanent, but flashes into a being. Its essential feature is action or function. Seven of these units clustered around one as the centre, create the visible atom (aṇu) out of which matter including the organs of sense, is composed. The distinctions of the elements, earth as rough, water as Viscous, fire as hot, wind as movable, are due to the predominance in each of its own special characteristics and the inactivity of the others which are also present, for the unit has in itself the qualitities of all the elements. The mutual attraction of material things is explained by the presence of the quality of water in each, their resistance by that of earth and so on...... As real the cause never perishes, what happens is the change of state, when at becomes an effect, involving an alteration of name. Thus the clay became a pot, without any real change of nature."[75] The relation between mental and material things is a case of causation[76] which may be said to be simultaneous.

This school believes in the existence of the past, present and future or extreme Astitvavada.[77] Milinda questions Nagasena in detail on the point of time in Milindapañha.[78] The sage insists that there is continuity between present, past and future. The past passes over to present and the present passes over to the future. Vasumitra's[79] view about time is accepted by Vaibhāṣikas. According to him when an entity has performed its function and has ceased to act, it is past ; when it is performing it is present and when it has not yet performed it is future. In all the cases there is real existence. If the past

75. A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 160-61.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
77. *Bu-Ston.* (Tr. by Obermiller, 1932), p. 99.
78. *Milindapañha.* 50 ff.
Kathāvatthu I. 8
Prof. Walleser has deduced from Milindapañha that time is essentially a thing of the world of experience but in true enlightenment there is as little room for time as for anything else empirical (A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 164).
79. A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 166.

were not real and it did not exercise efficiency, it could not be the object of knowledge, nor could deeds done in the past produce effects in the present. The five dharmas[80] persist in a being, the present being the resultant of the past and potential of future. This is in accordance with 'Sarvam Asti' principle.

This school believes in Antara-bhava an interim existence between past this and the next life.[81] "It is consciouness, which defiled by ignorance and previous dispositions, seizes on name and form and the six organs; observes a pair, human or animal according to his previous desert-in union, feels love for the mother, in desire enters the father's head, fixes itself on his thought, grasps the organ of enjoyment becames on embryo (bhava) and is duly born."[82]

Abhidharmakoṣa[83] gives a more scholastic view of the chain. Contact, feeling, thirst, grasping are ever renewed in our life; grasping arises from ignorance and dispositions, contact presupposes the existence of organs, name form, and consciousness. The whole therefore are the simultaneous co-efficients of existence (bhavanga) Consciousness appears as sixth element and it dominates matter and form and its existence is parexcellence.

80. N. Dutt, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 118.
Takakusu, *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 144 enumerates them as Rūpa, Citta, Caittadharma, Cittaviprayukta-dharma and Asaṁskritas.
81. *Kathāvatthu*, I. 6, 7, 8.
Points of Controversy (Kathāvatthu) Rhys Davids, pp. 84-85 ;
Bu-Ston, Tr. by Obarmiller, 1932, p. 99 ;
Tattvasaṁgrah, Vol. I ; forward p. XXVI, VV. 1914-1927 ;
P.V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddh.*, p. 104.
82. *Caṇḍamahārośaṇa Tantra*, Ch. XVI (J.R.A.S., 1897, p. 463) ;
Waddell, *J.R.A.S.* 1894, pp. 367 ff ; *Lamaism*, pp. 108 ff ;
Pousin, TCD (*Boudhisme et Mate' riaux. The 'orie des douze causes, Ghent*, 1913), p. 39. quoted by A.B. Keith *Vide Buddhist Philosophy* p. 179, ft. n. 1.
83. *Abhidharmakoṣa* III, 21 ff.
TCD p. 39 quoted by A.B. Keith vide *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 179 ft. 3
The objects plus a sense organ give rise to consciousness (C.F. Allen, *Buddha's Philosophy*, p. 157).

"So chain can be regarded properly as a series of states (avastha) of consciousness under the influence of these factors. Determined by previous dispositions produced by ignorance, it is incarnated as rebirth consciousness or mind, confused however by birth renewal. Then it assumes with matter the form of the five aggregates, possessing the senses of mind and body, that is touch.[84] Then the other four senses develop and actual birth takes place."

Sarvāstivādins recognise three different ways[85] to Salvation : (1) Disciples who attain Nirvāṇa through Arhatship (2) Pratyeka-buddhas who are fully enlightened by themselves but die without proclaiming the truth to the world. (3) Supreme Buddhas who win perfect enlightenment and teach the Dharma to others. Each individual by his past character and

84. *Kathāvatthu*, XIV. 2. agrees with this view against the Pubba - and Apara-seliyas who accept all six senses in the embryo. (quoted by A.B. Keith vide *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 180 ft. n. I.)

85. E. Conze., *Buddhism*, p. 123.
'Arhat' word is derived by the Buddhists from two words Ari (enemy) and Han (kill). Arhat means a slayer of the foe (passion). As technical term it is restricted to the perfect saints who are finally emancipated, Buddha himself is called an Arhat (E. Conze, Budd., p. 93) Arhat is, who has abondened all the defilements and has lost all attachment to the triple-world (sense, desire and form) (*Avadāna Śataka* II. 348 quoted bo E. Conze, p. 94).
Arhat is the saint Arhant who has freed himself from all the bonds, in whom no defilement remains and who will never suffer re-birth (*Digha Nikaya* II. 92-200)
Pratyekabuddhas are disciples : who tame one single-self, pascify one single-self and lead one single-self to Nirvaṇa, according to Prajñāpāramitā (quoted by E. Conze, *Buddh.*, p. 127/
The distinction between Śravaka and Pratyekabuddha is that Śravaka attains knowledge by hearing and Pratyekabuddha by exertion (Adv. Vaj. Sangh, H.P. Shastri, p. XXXII). Pratyekabuddhas attain Nirvāṇa by their own exertions at times when there are no Buddhas in the world (*Adv. Vajra Sangh.*, H.P. Shastri, p. XXVI).
Supreme Buddhas. Besides the historic Buddhas, there are others, with varying length of life who preach the doctrine and pass away. There annot be two Buddhas simulsaneously for the earth cannot bear the weight of so much Dharma (*Milindapañha*, pp. 237 f. *Aṅguttara Nikāya* I. 27 ; *K.V.* XXI, 6).

temperament belongs to one of these groups and uses the means which suit his make up.

They (Sarvāstivādins) maintain that Buddha or Bodhisattvas were ordinary people and were not free from the death and birth circle,[86] though sometimes they attribute to him

In Mahāyāna the belief of the Human-form of Buddha, which was weakened in the Hināyāna, disappears. Buddha of Sadharmapundarika claims to have taught the law for numberless period of tens of millions of cosmic periods (A.B. Keith, Buddh. Phil., p. 298). The Mahāsanghikas believe that the body of Thathagata is boundless and so is his power and length of life. Buddha is never tired of enlightening sentient beings and awakening pure faith in them. The Buddha is always in trance. Such sayings do not fit the man Gotma of Magadha. (E. Conze., *Buddhism*, p. 120).

86. *Tattvasangraha*, Vol. I, forward XXXII, V. 1917 ;
Kathāvtthu ; XXIII. 3 ;
Points of Controversy (Kathāvatthu) Rhys Davids ; p. 366 ;
Koṣa of Vasubandhu (Ed. by Rahulji, 1988) Ch. VI. 67 ;
N. Dutt. *I.H.,Q.* Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 799 ;
N. Dutt. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 555-556.
Bodhisattva. Sarvāstivādins give much thought to the career of Bodhisattva. According to Abhidharmakoṣa, he takes much time to obtain enlightenment because supreme enlightenment is very difficult to obtain. His goal is not the enlightenment of the only single-self but he labours for the good of others. (E. Conze, *Buddhism*, pp. 125-126).
Bodhi (enlightened), Sattva (being). Bodhisattva is a compound of two contradictory forces of wisdom and compassion (E. Conze, Budd., p. 130). He is a Buddha to be (E. Conze, *Buddhism*, p. 125). (A.B. Keith., *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 289).
Arhat's goal is to attain Nirvāṇa for himself, while Boddhisattva's goal is to show the path of Nirvāṇa to others. According to Abhidharmakoṣa Mahāyānists believe Bodhisattva as the higher being than Arhat, because the former abandons the world but not the beings in it. (E. Conze, *Buddhism*, pp. 128-130 ; 93-94).
The law which was threatened with destruction by the multiplication of Arhats in the lesser vehicle, found its preservation assured in the similar process of multiplication of Bodhisattvas in the greater vehicle. (Les Seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi J.A. 1916 quoted in *L.E.A.*, p. 209).

(Buddha) divine and superdivine powers.[87] This school maintained that Raga, Doṣa and Moha persist, through in an ineffective form. These may appear and cause an Arhat fall from Arhathood.[88]

It (Sarvāstivāda) believes in the theory of 'Shunya.' This was in addition to the trio 'Dukha, Anitya and Anatma.'[89] Śunya is neither void nor negation of existence but the absolute one.[90] According to Advaya Vajra Sangrah its meditation exists in realising the Śunyāta of Pudgāla by the knowledge of four noble truths : (1) miseries or the five Skandas (2) The root or the phenomenal world which is to be avoided (3) Cessation; for which the sense organs are to be restrained (4) The path leading to the cessation or Sunyāta. The aim is to come to the truth that Pudgāla is Śunya and that can be reachced by proper meditation of these four truths. But if Pudgāla is meditated as Sadāśiva then the meditation is impure.[91]

87. *Mahavastu Avadan*, (et. Par. E. Senart Paris, 1882. I, pp. 159-160 ; N. Dutt., *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 799-800 ff. N. Dutt., *Hina and Maha.*, p. 26.
88. *Kathāvatthu*, I. 1.2 *Points of Controversy* (Kathāvatthu) Rhys Davids, p. 64 ; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 120.
89. *Lalitavistara*, Dr. S. Lefmann, 1902, p. 419.
जिहापि काय मन दुखा अनात्म (अपिरिक्त स्वभाव) शून्य ।
Koṣa of Vasubandhu, (Ed. by Rahulji, 1988)
Chapters VI & VII discuss the theory of 'Shunya' as devoid of Atman, purṣa etc.
Divyavadāna, (Cowell & Neil), pp. 266, 367 Anitya Dukha Śunya Anatma.
Dul.va, Tr. from Alaxander Csoma's Anal. by H.H. Wilson, vide J.A.S.B., Vol. I, 1832, p. 378 says Śunyata may be regarded as the illusory nature of all corporeal and mundane existence.
90. *Adv. Vajra Sangh*, H.P. Shastri, p. XXV.
91. *Adv. Vajra Sanghrah* was written in the 11 A.D. According to it Vaibhāṣikas of Kashmir are extreme Śravakas, this is the philosophy of Extreme Śravakas (*Adv. Vajra Sangrah*, H.P. Shastri, pp. XXXI- and XXVI-XXVII)
So far as our personality is concerned it is swallen as far as five Skandas are concerned. But is hollow inside as devoid of central self (E. Conze, *Buddhism*, p. 130).
Śunya is a term of self-efacement. E. Conze interprets that zero and Cipher is nothing but Śunya. This Anti-commercial system of Buddhism has given this tool to the modern commercialism without which it could have scarcely developed. E. Conze, *Buddhism*, p. 131).

The question, what then if left in the universe, when the work of negation of reality and negation alike is com prehended ? is answered in Lankāvatra Sutra nothing but a mere suchness or thusness (Thatāgata)[92] or voidness without origination or essence[93] to which also the style is given of womb or source of Thatāgata (Thatāgata-Garbha).

It believes in two Kaya conception of Buddha, Rupkāyā and Dharmakāyā.[94]

Hināyāna distinguishes between the physical body of Buddha which passes away, and the body of law, which is the doctrine taught by him, to be realised by each man for himself. Later on there is the idea of material body of Buddha as his body and the law as his soul. Dharamakāyā i.e. law is the true nature of the Buddha, is true knowledge (Prajña) to be attained by a Buddha. The body of law can be equated with enlightenment (bodhi) or with release (Nirvāṇa).[95]

Buddha-Ruyakāyā or Nirmaṇa-kāyā's idea is found in Kathāvattu. It holds that Buddha remained in the Tuṣita heaven and merely a phantom appeared on earth. Mahāvastu does not know this idea but Mahāyāna Sutras repeatedly

92. Lanka., p. 70 ;
Mahāyāna Sutralankāra (Ed. and Tr. by Levi Paris 1907-11) IX. 5 ; 22, 57 ; XI 41 ; XVIII 37 ; XIX 44-6 quoted by A.B. Keith., *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 248.
93. *Lanka.*, p. 78.
94. *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil)., p. 19.
95. *Divya.*, p. 99 ; D.N. III 84.
PP (*Puggalapannati*, Ed. PT. S 1833) pp. 941, 462.
B. CAP (Bodhicaryavatarapanjika of Prajñakaramati) ed. B.I. IX. 38, quoted by A.B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, 267 ff. Of the Tri-kāyās (Nirmana-kāyā), Sambhoga-kāyā, Dharma-kāyā the last is absolute while others are mere emnations from it and are ultimately absorbed in it (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vaj. Sang.*, p.XXII)
In Kathāvastu, Arhatship is discussed, but not Buddhahood, not much of Bodhi and very little of Trikāyā (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vaj. Sang.* p. XX).
Nirvāṇa of Mahāyāna is complete absorption in the Dharmakāyā (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vaj. Sang.*, p. XXII).

mention it with the substitution of some other abode of the real Buddha in lieu of the Tuṣita heaven, the vulture peak in *Saddharma*-puṇḍrīka, the Sukhavati paradise in the Vyuhas and Amitayuh-Sūtras.[96]

The Development of Religious ideas in Kashmir

During the time of Buddha the Gangetic basin was morally and geographically divided into two zones. In the Western side watered by parallel streams of Ganges and Yamuna Vedas and Sanskrit language was prominent. The Eastern side was lower valley where river ganges widened and separated the great tribes Videhas and Maghdhas, was not so civilized and human mind was not so refined by philosophical speculations. In this region of Magdha, the earliest Buddhist communities developed. The texts containing the Master's teaching were probably written in Magdhan dialect and for purposes of remembering, this oral literature was almost entirely in rythmic verse. The metrical element outweight the prose in length and importance. Suttanapata and Jātaka stories were preserved in this manner. The original Sūtras were felt inaducate when the competition with Hindu philosophers began when Buddhism penetrated in the Western part of the Gangetic basin, the need became more acute. The monks found this region the home of philosophical speculations of the Upnishadas. The earliest converted literate put their knowledge of Sanskrit and rhetorics in use. Thus in the west particularly at Mathura developed a new school of Buddhism which produced philosophical works in Sanskrit.

The contrast between Magadha and Mathura school is sharp. Magdhan narratives mostly reproduce the sayings of Sakyamuni or one of his contemporaries. But the Sanskrit works e.g. Aśokavadāna (150 B.C. -100 B.C.) tells us about the time that follow the death of Buddha and contains narration of Aśoka's reign. The earlier writer chiefly show the path of Nirvāṇa to recluces eager for obtaining Nirvāṇa, while the

96. *Sādharmapuṇḍarīka* (SBE. XXI), p. XXV, A.B. Keith., *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 271.

later writer does not address to the clergy only but to the pious laity also who sustains the church by its charity. He instructs and moralises by the lives of Saints and greatmen.[97]

The development of Mathura school is linked with Sarvāstivāda school. The tradition, inscription of Mathura, and literary evidence are a testimony to the fact.[93]

Sarvāstivāda fertilised Sanskrit prose at Mathura and advanced along the western route and conquered Kashmir and Gandhāra in no time. A Kashmirian sect in order to prove its attachment to the primitive tradition rightly or wrongly assumed the name of Mūl-Sarvāstivāda.[99]

Reaching North-Western regions the doctrine became flexible as the population was mixed one due to foreign invasions. The new art developed in immitation of Greek models. Buddhism ceased to be purely Indian religion and became complex structure in which Greek Art, Iranian dualism, Philosophy of Madhyadeśa and the old Magadhan elements all had their place. After Scythian and Parthean invaders, Yu-Chis burst on the Indian frontiers. Under Kaniksha the unlimited expansion opened before Buddhism towards Central Asia.[100]

97. *R.E.A.*, pp. 10-12. Aśokavadāna is the product of Mathura school and is older than Vinaya of Mul-Sarvāstivādana (*L.E.A.*, Tri's note p. i).
98. Edouard Huber and M. Sylvain Levi discovered that Divyavadāna is composed of certain stories borrowed from Aśokavadāna and the majority of others formed a part of Vinaya of the Mul Sarvāstivādins. It became clear evidence that the three works, based on common tradition were closely connected and were the most important texts of Sarvāstivādin School (Edouard Huber Sources du Divyavadāna. BEFFO VI No. 1.2 ; Sylvain Levi Les Elements de formation du Divyavadāna. T'oung Pao. VIII pp. 105-22 quoted in *L.E.A.*, vide Author's preface p. i).
99. *L.E.A.*, p. 13.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.
Refer, Ch. IX of this thesis also.

Buddhism which had became popular in Kashmir in 3rd century B.C., due to Aśoka's efforts gained great importance in the days of Kanishka who convened a Buddhist Council in the valley and got Mahavibhāṣās compiled. According to Jean Przyluski a new school of Buddhism developed in the already existing Magadha and Mathura periods.[101]

The Main difference between Mathura and Kashmir periods is the texts of the Vinayas. The Vinaya of the land of Mathura along with A-po-to-na (Avadāna) and the Jātakas runs into eighty chapters, while the Vinaya of the land of Kashmir rejects the Jātakas and the Avadānas. The latter has retained merely the essential and contains only ten chapters. But it has a text entitled Vibhāshā in eighty chapters which is a commentary to it.[102]

Not only this, but the doctrine was also more humanised during this period and the ideas expressed a centuary before Kaniśhka in Aśokavadāna received greater importance. The evolution seems to be caused due to social and political causes. The society under the Kushānas became more cosmopolitan and the prejudices of race, caste and cread seem to have almost disappeared when the foreigners framed the law. Buddhism was transformed into almost a world religion. As the religion was threatened with destruction due to the rigid rules of Hinayanists about Vinaya and Dharma, changes were introduced in it which later on were incorporated in Mahāyāna.

The theory of Nirvāṇa was changed into re-birth in heaven and the conception of Sainthood or Bodhisattvas was brought forth against the theory of Arhatship to preserve the faith.[103] Thus the cult of Amitābha paradise and Maitreya

101. *L.E.A.*, Tr's Note p. i.
102. Ta-Che-Fu-Luen, Chap. C. Tripitaka Ed. Tokyo XX, 5 p. 105 a ; Col. 20 vide *L.E.A.*, p. 219.
103. Les Seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi. *J.A.* 1916 quoted in *L.E.A.* pp. 208-209.

that holds up birth in Tushita heaven as the ultimate goal spread.[104]

As soon as the devotees began preferably to stay in the world in order to help others to secure salvation, the entire scale of values was reversed. The writers of Kashmirian school began to glorify the humble and the novice, women and virtuous laymen, occassionally at the expense of Śramanas. The artists also started sculpturing the ideas of literature in stone. Thus the school effected the literature as well as the art not only in the valley but everywhere, wherever the new ideas reached.

The new principal of the decline of Arhat first expressed at Mathura in Aśokavadāna (150 B.C. - 1100 B.C.) of Mul Sarvāstivādin School is corraborated in Kanishka's Council. According to Yuan-Chwang 499 Arhats who formed the assembly, at first refused to admit Vasumitra because he had not still attained emancipation. The latter however declared that he cared very little to acquire the benefits of Arhatship and his aim was to become a Buddha. A moment after this the gods predict that his wish shall be fulfilled and he shall be a successor to Maitreya.[105]

The Tibetan Chronicler, Taranatha discusses diverse

104. Peri, according to Matsumoto Bulletin de 1 'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient XI p. 447 quoted in *L.E.A.*, p. 208.
Asanga was the founder of Yogachāra school of Mahāyanā according to a group of scholars supposition. Tradition tells Asanga's works had been revealed by the future Buddha Maitreya in the Tushita heaven. But fresh research postulates the existence of Matreya or Maitreyanatha as the historical person, who might have been the teacher of Asanga and the real founder of Yogachara school (cf. H. Ui Maitreya as an Historical personage's in Indian Studies in Honour of C.R. Lanman Harward University Press. 1929 pp. 95-101 ; G. Tucci on Some Aspects of the Doctrine of Maitreyanatha and Asanga. Calcutta 1930, pp. 16-17. E.J. Thomas *History of Buddhist thought* II Ed. London, 1951, p. 232, quoted in *L.E.A.*, ft. n. 6 p. 191).
Tushita is the world of Gods for Buddhists (*Cosmo Geography*, p. 43).
105. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 271 ;
Si-Yu-Ki, Vol. II, p. 193.

views, according to which the assembly of Kanishka was composed of 500 Arhats, 500 Bodhisattvas and 500 ordinary Pandits, or else 500 Arhats and 500 Mahābhadantas or again of Vasumitra and 400 Bhadantas. Anyhow the main point about the decline of Arhat in Kanishka's Council is indicated by him also.[106]

The Concept of Hell

The concept of Hell in Buddhism is borrowed from Hinduism and is not the result of logical transformations systematically linked with one another. But during its evolution new tendencies modified its course.[107]

During Magadhan period hell is conceived as a prison. During the Kausambi-Mathura period the notion of sub-terranean furnace came to be added to the primitive concept of hell on the surface of the earth. During the Kashmirian period a third notion that of Icy-hells was added to the burning hells. The hells were now grouped in two series, -burning hells and frozen hells. The first category consists of eight divisions as in Samkichchajātaka but the number of frozen hells is variable. It is eight in Vinaya of the Mul Sarvāstivādins and the Avadanṣataka and ten in many texts. Moreover there existed many minor hells corresponding to the secondary Niryas of the Devidut-Sutta.[108]

106. *L.E.A.*, p. 211.
107. *L.E.A.*, p. 143.
108. *L.E.A.*, pp. 140-143. Avestic Hell was originally cold. Perhaps because the earth for Iranians is surrounded by mountains as those for Arayans by water. (L.E.A., p. 149). But Buddhist hell originally had no idea of abnormal temperature (L.E.A. p. 146). It seems during its evolution due to its coming in contact with regions of various climates and religions it modified itself. The History of the hells can be traced in (1) of the Magdhan School in Nirayasutra (2) Of Kausambi School in Devidutt-Sutta (*Majjh.* No. 130) and Balpandit Sutta (*Majj.* No. 129) (3) Of Mathura School in Balpandit Sutta and Devadutsutra (Chang-a-han. No. 1?9 and of Kashmirian period in Kunālsutta (*L.E.A.*, p. 128).

After Kanishka's Council Arhat who attained Nirvāṇa for himself only was less prized than Bodhisattva who was born again and again to convert more and more people to faith. The doctrine adopted easy methods of charity, ten good actions and five prohibitions to attain the desired goal of re-birth in heaven.[109] The conception of hell also underwent a change and Icy-hell was added to the sub-terranean furnace and hell on the surface of the earth. These ideas were incorporated and further developed in Mahāyāna literature.

109. *L.E.A.* pp. 143-144 ; 208-210.
Ekottargama's several sutras confirm all the tendencies attributed to Kashmirian thinkers ; *L.E.A.*, pp. 211-213.
Five Prohibitions : (1) Kill not any living being ; (2) Steal not (3) Commit not adultery ; (4) Lie not ; (5) Drink not strong drink ; (M. Williams, Buddhism, p. 126).
Ten Prohibitions vide *Mahā-Vagga*, I. 56 are :
Abstain from (1) Destroying life (Pāṇātipato-prāṇātipāta) ;
(2) taking any thing not given (adinnādāna)
(3) Unchastity (abrahmacariyā) ;
(4) Speaking falsely (musā-vādā-mrishā-vāda) ;
(5) Drinking strong drinks (Surā) ;
(6) Eating at forbidden times (Vikāla-bhojana) ;
(7) Dancing, singing, music and worldly scenes (Visūka) ;
(8) Use of high or broad bed ;
(9) Receiving gold or silver.
The prohibition of receiving gold or silver or money even for return of teaching was held most important and was obeyed for a long time though in the end monasteries became owners of large property and landed estates (M. Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 78-79).

CHAPTER III

THE PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR

Aśoka (C. 273-236 B.C.)

The Mauryan emperor Aśoka not only sent missionaries to propagate Buddhism in Kashmir,[1] but built there numerous Stupas and Viharas as well.[2] The Chinese pilgrim[3] Yuan-Chwang testifies to the presence of these monuments and says

1. *Mahavaṃśa*, XII, vv. 1-28 ;
Dipvaṃśa, VIII Chapter ;
Sasnāvaṃśa, VII Chapter ;
Thupvaṃśa, (Tr. by B.C. Law), p. 42.
2. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 101-3.
Stupa is a heap or pile of earth or bricks especially a Buddhist monument, dagoba and relic-shrine or relic-casket (Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 1260)
Chaitya is religious term while Stupa is an architectural equivalent for a relic mound. (O.C. Gangoli., *Indian Architecture*, p. 9)
Vihara---The Chaityagrha or hall for religious assembly and the Vihara or monastery was constructed for the rain rest of the monks and nuns. Originally the structures were made of wood but later on out of rock in the form of artificial caves. (J.P. Guha, Intro. *Ind. Art.* p. 16).
3. Beal, *Si-Yu.Ki*, p. 190 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 258-59 ;
Qu.Kong, Stein, M.A., p. 22.

that Aśoka gave rway the whole valley for the benefit of Buddhists.[4]

Jaloka

After Asoka, Jaloka, said to be the former's son, became the ruler of Kashmir.[5] It is said that he was not favourable to Buddhism in the beginning,[6] but subsequently at the request of Kritya he modified his attitude and built one Buddhist Vihāra, named Krityaśrama.[7]

Dr. Nalinaksh Dutt is righι in saying that Jaloka named the Vihāra after Kritya in order to show respect to the Naga faith.[8] At any rate Jaloka's policy enabled the two religions to flourish side by side.

After the fall of the Mauryan dynasty, the history of Buddhism in Kashmir is obscure. Perhaps Aśoka's benefactions to Buddhist Sangha brought a natural reaction in the time of his successors. Nevertheless Buddhism seems to have survived in the valley as Milindapañha records that a discussion between Nagasena and Milinda was held at a place which

4. Watters, *Yuan-Ch* , Vol. I, p. 267 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 190.

5. *Rajat.*, I. v. 128 ;
Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 125 ;
Asiat. Res., Vol. XV, pp. 19-20.

6. *Rajat.*, I. v. 136 ;
Samyamātrikā, v. 61.

7. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 131-146.
Kritya met Jaloka and demanded human flesh. He offered his own. She compared him with Buddhisattvas who are free from five afflictions and risk themselves to comfort others. She requested the king that he should build a Buddhist Vihara to atone for his sins of persecuting Buddhists.

8. N. Dutt., *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. I, p. 16.

was only 12 yojnas from Kashmir[9] and as the result of this discussion Milinda embraced Buddhism and became an Arhat.[10] He silenced the Buddhist priests in argument and drove them across the Himalayas (to Rakshita Tal and Mansrovara).[11]

Milinda is identified with Menander, the Greeco-Bactrian ruler[12] who ruled in the later middle of 2nd century B. C.[13] He was the seventh of the last-but-one of the kings who succeeded Demetrios, the Greeco-Bactrian ruler in Kashmir.[14] He crossed the river Sutlej and spread his kingdom upto the Jumna.[15] Twenty-two different coins, some of them in considerable numbers, bearing the name and eight of them the effigy of Menander, have been found. One of them has been found in Kashmir.[16] This is kept in the museum in Kashmir. It depicts the bust of the king, wearing a crested helmet.[17]

According to Schiefner, the name associated with the progress of Buddhism in Kashmir, before Turuṣka kings, is

9. *The questions of King Milinda* Rhys Davids, p. 127 ;
Milindapañho,, V. Trenckner, pp. 82, 83, 420.
Milindapañho, R.D. Vedekar Intro., p. VIII states Sagala was the place of discussion, which is somewhere in South Punjab ?
Tarn, W.W., *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 133, records Sagala (Sialkot) in the Eastern ?
Punjab was Menander's capital.
Copleston, D.D., *Buddhism*, 1882, p. 371, says Sagala is at a distance of 200 yojnas from Kalasi and 12 yojnas from Kashmir.
Millindapañho probably was written in the early centuries of Christian Era., *Cos. and Geography of Early Ind. Lit.*, by D.C. Sircar.
10. *Milindapañho*, V. Trenckner, p. 420.
11. Furgussan, *Tree and Sarpent Worship*, Intro., p. 64 ;
Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 131.
12. *Milindapañho*, R.D. Vedekar, Intro., p. IX ;
The questions of King Milinda, Rhys Davids, Intro., p. XVIII.
13. D.C. Sirkar, *The Age of Imp. Unity*, pp. 112-114 ;
Milindapañho was written probably in 1 A.D., Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 18, 174-175.
14. *Milindapañho*, R.D. Vedekar, Intro., p. IX ;
Tarn, W.W., *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.
15. *The questions of King Milinda*, Rhys Davids, Intro., p. XIX.
16. *The questions of King Milinda*, Rhys Davids, Intro., p. XX.
17. R.C. Kak, *Handbook*, 1923, Coin Number 15, p. 127.

that of king Sinha. He was the ruler of Kashmir. He became a monk and changed his name to Sudarshana. He attained Arhathood and propagated Buddhism in the valley.[18]

Turuṣka Rulers

Huṣka Juṣka and Kanishka, the princes of Turkish nationality, ruled Kashmir after Damodra II.[19] They patronised Buddhism and erected Buddhist monuments in Kashmir. They founded three capitals after their names-Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kanishkapura.[20] Amongst these Kanishka (78 A.D.)[21] is most famous, as his name is connected with a Buddhist Council.

18. *Schiefner*, p. 58.

19. *Rajat.*, I., v. 168.
Princsep, *Essays on Indian Ant.*, Vol. I, 1858, p. 39 ;
H H. Wilson, *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XV, p. 23.

20. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 169-170.
Huṣkapura is moder Uşkür, a village on the eastern bank of the river Jhelum to the S.E. of Bārāmūlā. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, 1871, p. 91). Its founder was King Huṣka, who is known as Huvishka from the inscriptions and Huṣka from the Indo-Scythian coins. (Ou-Kong, p. 7 ; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1871, p. 99 ; N. Dutt, Gil Mss., P. 19).
Juṣkapura. Brahmanas of Kashmir identify it with Zukru or Zukur, a village, four miles from the capital. (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1871, p. 101).
Kanishkapura. It is situated at ten miles' distance to the South of Srinagar, on the high road leading to Pir-Panjāl Pass. Kashmiris in their common language call it Kanikhpura and its corrupted form is Kānipur. (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1871, p. 99).

21. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVIII, 1925-26, p. 281 ;
J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 3 ;
J.A.S.B., 1784-1883, Century Review, 1885, p. 83 ;
Satish Chandar, *Indian Logic*, p. 65 ;
The Age of Imp. Unity, p. 144.

Kanishka's Council

Kanishka (1st Century A.D.), convened the Buddhist Council to revise and determine the Buddhist faith.[22] He was greatly exercised over conflicting interpretations of the Buddha's teachings and he wished to know as to which interpretation was the most authentic.[23]

According to tradition Kanishka became a Buddhist on account of his association with King Sinha of Kashmir.[24] It is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of this statement. But there is no difficulty in accepting Dr. H.C. Roy Chaudhuri's view that Kanishka must have embraced Buddhism quite early in his reign[25] or even before it. He convened a Buddhist Council in Kashmir.[26] It is not possible to locate with cer-

22. *J.R.A.S.* (N.S.), 1877, Vol. 9, pp. 218-219 ;
P. Thomas, *Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners,* p. 53 ;
B.C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies,* 1931, p. 72 ;
Bu-Ston (Tr. Obermiller, 1932), p. 97 ;
Beal, *Travels of Fa-hien and Sung-Yun,* Intro., p. XX ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* pp. 192-93.
23. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.,* Vol. I, pp. 203 ; 270 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* pp. 190-94 ;
Panikkar, *India and China,* p. 9 ;
2500 Yrs. of Buddh., p. 200.
24. *Schiefner,* XII, p. 58.
25. H.C. Roy Chau., *Pol. History of Ancient India,* p. 475 ;
26. *Toung-Pao,* Vol. V, p. 276, fn. 36 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* pp. 191-192 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.,* pp. 270-71 ;
Stein M.A., *Rajat.,* Vol. I, Intro., p. 76 ;
Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes,* p. 131 ;
Copleston, D.D. *Buddhism,* 1892, p. 12 ;
P. Thomas, *Hindu Reli. Customs and Manners* (I Ed.) p. 53.
The following are the opinions regarding the site of the Council :
Kanishka's Buddhist Council was held at Kun-sa-na Sarvasama (Kundalvanvihara or Karnavatarisvan Vihāra in Kashmir) *Pag. Sam-Jon-Zang,* pp. 44 and 83 ; (Ed. by S.C. Dass, 1908 Index, p. XII).
Kanishka convened his Buddhist Council at Kundalvanvihara in Kashmir (*Schiefner,* XII, p. 58).
Kanishka's Buddhist Council was held at Kuvana Monastery in Kashmir (*Bu-Ston,* Tr. by Obermiller, 1832, p. 97).

tainty the place where this Council was held. But is is almost certain that it must have been held either in Kashmir itself or in its vicinity. Yuan-Chwang who visited the valley in 7th century A.D., is definite on the point. Evidently this tradition must have lingered and Yuan-Chwang must have heard about it. Moreover, the very fact that such a basic and vast Buddhist literature as Mahavihbāṣas of Sarvāstivāda School was produced in Kashmir shows that this region must have had the benefit of being the venue of the gathering of learned scholars of the age.

Abhimanu

According to Kalhaṇa Abhimanu ruled Kashmir after the Turuṣka kings. In the beginning of the reign the traditional rites and customs of the Nāga faith seem to have ended on account of the efforts of Nagarjuna. This enraged the Nāgas who wrought destruction upon the Buddhists. The Nāga cult was restored by a Brahman, Chandra-deva.[27]

Nara

Buddhism received a great setback during the days of king Nara. He levelled the Buddhist temples to the ground,[28] burnt thousands of Viharas, and confiscated Buddhist lands.[29] Taranatha remarks that when Nagarjuna left Northern-India and went to Southern-India, the religion of Mlecchas prospered in the country.[30]

The place where the work of the Council is deposited was identified as Uṣkar near Bārāmūlā. Mr. Garrick carried out extensive excavations in 1882, but failed to get anything (Stein, *Rajat.,* Vol. I, p. 144, fn. 188).
27. *Rajat.,* I. vv. 174-184.
The legend is a reference to Nilamata's (V.V. 325 Sqq.) narration of destruction upon the Buddhists and the restoration of Nāga cult (Stein, *Rajat.,* Vol. I, fn. 84, p. 33).
28. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. II, p. 382 ;
J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir,* Vol. I, p. 15.
29. *Rajat,* I. vv. 199-200.
30. *Schiefner,* pp. 84-85.

Yuan-Chwang writes that after Kanishka's death a native dynasty of Kritya race ruled Kashmir and its Sovereign became the persecutor of Buddhism. The pilgrim has not named the kings may be his reference was to Abhimanu and Nara.[31]

Mihirukula, a very powerful persecutor of Buddhist institutions, ruled Kashmir from C. 515 to 556 A.D.[32] Stein identifies him with the white Hun ruler called Mihirakula or Mihiragula from his coins.[33] He pulled down Buddhist monasteries of Northern India and massacred the monks.[31]

Meghavahana

King Meghavahana had a soft corner for Buddhism and hated killing like a Jina. Kalhana narrates that he prohibited the slaughter of animals even in sacrifices.[35] He compelled the neighbouring princes also to prohibit slaughter.[36] His chief queen Amṛtaprabha and his other queens founded many vihāras.[37]

Meghavahana to Pravarasena II (C. 6th Century A.D.)

Kalhaṇa is silent about the condition of Buddhism from the time of Meghavahana to that of Pravarasena II.[33] Still Buddhism cannot be said to have disappeared from the valley. Pravarasena's uncle Jayendra patronised it and built Jayendra

31. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, p. 278 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 194.
32. *Rajat.*, I. v. 289, Date is taken from Stein, MA., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 78.
Young husband, *Kashmir*, p. 123.
33. Stein, *Rajat.*, Vol. I, p. 43, fn.
34. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*; Vol. I, pp. 288.289 ;
Panikkar, *Harshe of Kanuaj*, p. 2.
35. *Rajat.*, III, vv. 4, 7.
36. *Rajat.*, III, v. 27.
37. *Rajat.*, vv. 9,11-14.
38. *Rajat.*, III, vv. 93-324. Pravarsena II's date is taken from Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 84.

Vihāra,[39] where Yuan-Chwang stayed and received instructions in various Śāstras.[40] He erected a Buddhist statue as well.[41]

Yudhistra II

His minister patronised Buddhism and constructed Vihāras and Chaityas and completed other pious works.[42]

Ranaditya

Buddhism seems to have enjoyed respect in the royal household. King Ranaditya's wife Amṛtprabha built one Vihāra in which she istalled the statue of Buddha built by Meghavahana's wife Bhima.[43]

In Kashmir Museum lies an inscription[44] in Śarda Script in three lines, engraved on front thickness of a square stone block with convex top. It is a maṇḍalka donated to Lokeśvara

39. *Rajat.*, III, v. 355.
40. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 259.
41. *Rajat.*, III, V. 355.
42. *Rajat.*, III, vv. 379-382.
43. *Rajat.*, III, v. 464.
44. Inscription :
L.1 ओं सं ५७ वैशाख शु ति ४ परमेश्वर श्री रण
L.2 देवराज्ये आचार्यं कमलश्रियं न (श्रिया) लोके
L.3 श्वर भट्टारकं मण्डलकं प्रतिपादितम्
The writer is indebted to Shri K.N. Shastri for the inscription interpretation.
In later Buddhist period Vajra and Maṇḍala have more significance than Sakyamuni, who becomes a mere recorder of the decrees of the five Skandhas (Dhyani Buddhas) (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vajra Sangh*, p. XXX)
The custom of offering these maṇḍalkas to the Bodhisattva seems to have been prevalent among the Buddhists of the Kashmir Valley in the medieval period for earning religious merit.
(Shri K.N. Shastri)

Bhattacharya (Bodhisattva Auloketeśvara?) by Acharya Kamleshri in the reign of king Randeva, dated Sambat 57, 4th day of the bright half of the month of Vaisakha. Kalhana's Rajatarangini does not mention any king Randeva, but it does refers to king Ranaditya who lived prior to 7th century A. D. Pandit Kedar Nath Shastri, on paleographical ground believes that the inscription cannot belong to Ranaditya's time and is not that old. But it does indicate the hold of Tantra system on Buddhism.

Vikramaditya

Though the king patronised Shaivism, his minister Galuna got one Vihāra built in the name of his queen Ratnavali.[45] The *Nilamata* Purana testifies to the existence of Buddhism in the valley in 6th or 7th Century A.D. Though it professedly favours the Naga cult, it indirectly depicts popular respect for Buddha and his creed. Buddha was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu and his images were worshipped.[46] It show how deep rooted was the effect of Buddhism on the minds of the people.

Durlabhavardhana (600 - 636 A.D.)

Kalhaṇa attributes the reign of thirty-six years to Durabhavardhana. Yuan-Chwang visited Kashmir (C. 631-633 A.D.) probably during his reign.[47] Warm reception was given to him at the Dvār, the inner end of the pass.[48] According to Yuan-Chwang the 'Brethern' of both the vehicles lived together in peace.[49] Though the king was inclined towards

45. *Rajat.*, III. V. 476.
46. *Nilamata* (Ed. by Vreese), vv. 686-690.
The date is taken from Buhler's Report, p. 41.
47. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 87 ;
T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chorono. Chart of the History of Kashmir*, pp. 12-13.
48. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 258, 262 ;
Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro. p. 87. Quotes the life of Hieun Tsiang, Ed. by Beal, pp. 68 sqq.
49. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 282-83.

Buddhism, that religion was not in a very flourishing condition. Yet there were above a hundred monasteries, five thousand Buddhist priests, and four Aśokan topes built over the relics of Buddha.[50]

Lalitaditya Muktapida (699-736 A.D.)[51]

During the days of Lalitaditya people followed three faiths side by side. The king hence built temples of Vishnu, and Shiva, and Buddhist Vihāras as well as Stupas.[52] He showed his zeal for Buddhism by erecting the 'ever Rajvihāra with a large quadrangle (Catushāla), a large Chaitya and a large image of Buddha.[53] His son-in-law also built a Vihāra.[54] Tāntric Buddhism seem to have developed in this period as Caṅkuna his minister is credited as Tāntric Buddhist.[55] He also built two Vihāras, one of which had a golden image of Buddha.[56]

Jayapida (751-712 A.D.)

The king worshipped both Vishnu and Buddha and built Vishnu temples, Buddha images and a large Vihāra.[57]

Avantivarman (855/6-833 A.D.)[58]

He along with his ministers showed respect to Vishnu and Shiva. He showed great regard for Buddhism also and

50. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 261 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 189.
51. T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chrono. Chart of the History of Kashmir* , p. 12.
52. *Rajat.*, IV, vv. 188, 201-203.
53. *Rajat.*, IV, v. 200.
54. *Rajat.*, IV, v. 216.
55. N. Dutt., *Gil. Mss.*, Vol. I, p. 30.
56. *Rajat.*, IV, vv. 211, 215.
57. T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chrono. Chart of the History of Kashmir*, p. 12 ;
Rajat., IV, vv. 84, 507-508.
King Jayapida is said to have built Vihāras and Hindu temples at Andarkot a mile away from the village of Sūmbal, near the entrance of Mānasbal lake. At present practically every thing is destroyed. (R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 161).
58. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 97.

prohibited the killing of living beings.[59] During his time Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and other Siddhas appeared in the country.[60] Shivasvamin flourished at his court[61] it seems Tāntric Buddhism made a little headway in Kashmir.[62]

Sankarvarman to Kṣemgupta (883-958 A.D.)[53]

During this period Buddhism was in a decayed condition. Sankarvarman's (883-902 A.D.) queen Sugandha was killed in a monastery, called Niṣpālaka Vihāra.[64] The court intrigues made Pārtha (906-923 A.D.) and his queen take shelter in Jayendra Vihāra.[56] Brahamanas had gained ascendency and they placed Yaśakara (939-948 A.D.) the king of their choice on the throne.[66] The king gave equal justice and equal treatment to all without any regard for casts and creed.[67] King Kṣemgupta (950-958 A.D.) was a great Shiva worshipper. He destroyed the images of Buddha and utilized the stones of Jayendra Vihāra for erecting a Shiva temple. He confiscated the villages endowed for the maintenance of the Vihāras.[68] Abhinavagupta the great Shaiva philosopher flourished at his court.[69]

A bronze statuette of Bodhisattva Padampāni of queen Didda's time 980-1003 is a conspicious example of decayed

59. *Rajat.*, V, v. 66.
60. *Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa* is known as the pupil of Vasugupta who was the founder of Spandasastra branch of Kashmirian Shaiva Philosophy. The commentary written by him is called Spandasarvasva. It was written on his teacher's work and is called Spandakarikas. It is still extant. (Stein, *Rajat.*, Vol. I, p. 195, fn. 66).
61. Vide Chapter VIII of this thesis.
62. N. Dutt., *Gil. Mss.*, Vol. I, p. 30.
63. T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chrono. Chart of the History of Kashmir*, pp. 14-16.
64. *Rajat.*, V. 262.
65. *Rajat.*, V. v. 428.
66. *Rajat.*, V. vv. 469-476.
67. *Rajat.*, VI. vv. 15-40.
68. *Rajat.*, VI. vv. 172-173, 175. Here Kalhaṇa seems to have gone too far in his exaggrations.
69. *Rajat.*, vv. 176-177. Abhinavgupta - Refer. Ch. VIII of this thesis.

Buddhism. Bodhissativa is shown here of six arms, having 'dhyani-buddha' Amitabha his spiritual ego on his head and two goddesses Tāra and Brikuti ? on his either side. This sculpture tells the struggle of Buddhists to survive against engulphing Brahamism and Shaktism.[70]

Buddhism during the I Lohara Dynasty 1003-1101 A.D.

During this period Buddhism degenerated and lost the royal patronage. Buddhists lost their high ideals and led corrupt life. Nuns were found acting as go-in-between to make love affairs successnful.[71] The famous poets' works bear testimony to it, specially of Kṣemendra and Somadeva.[72] The last king of the dynasty was Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) He is termed as Mleccha by Kalhaṇa. He destroyed the temples of Hindus and Buddhists and supported Turuṣka mercenaries.[73] He got the divine images dragged and covered with nightsoil.[74] Three teachers of distinction sakyamati, Śīlabhadra and Yaśomitra lived in Kashmir during his time.[75]

Buddhism under the II Lohara Dynasty (1101-1339 A.D.)

King Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) was succeeded by Uccala (1101-11 A.D.) His queen Jayamatī built two Vihāras; one was named Navamaṭha and the other was called Sullā-Vihāra after her sister Sullā.[76] The latter was completed by King Jaysimha (1128-54 A.D.) who followed Uccala.

Jaysimha (1128-54 A.D.) patronised the Vihāras and mathas and his queen Ratnadevi's Vihāras attained importance

70. Please Refer Chapter VII for details.
71. *Desopdesha and Narmamla* (Ed. by M. Kaul), Kash. Series, 1923, pp. 1-35.
72. Vide Chapter VIII of this thesis.
73. *Rajat.*, VII. vv. 1095, 1149.
74. *Rajat.*, VII, v. 1093. This seems to be an overdrawn picture of the indignity shown to the images.
75. *Schiefner*, p. 205.
76. *Rajat.*, VIII, vv. 246-248, 3318.

among the religious monuments.[77] His minister Rilhana was a pious man. He built a Vihāra at Bhalerakaprapā, in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā.[78] Sussalā must have been a devotee of Buddha as she erected a magnificient building on the site of Cankuna Vihāra for the Buddhists.[79] Jayasiṁha adorned Bhuṭṭapura with Vihāras and mathas[80] and completed Bijjā Vihāra.[81] His commander-in-chief's wife Cintā, built a Vihāra on the bank of the river Vitastā with five other buildings. They looked like the five upraised arms of Law.[82]

It appears from all these Buddhist monuments and from Kalhaṇa's recorded testimony that there was a vigorous revival of Buddhism in Kashmir during the reigns of Lohara monarchs. Kalhaṇa wrote Rājataraṅgini during this period, a work full of deep regard for Buddhism. According to Buhler's report, Jinendrabuddha a Buddhist ascetic lived during 12th century at Varāhmūlā in Kashmir.[83] The fact that Buddhism continued to flourish, more or less in a satisfactory condition in the 12th century is also proved from the discovery of an inscription by Mr. Sten Konow in the village Hadigrama in 1908.[84]

Causes of the Downfall of Buddhism in Kashmir

Internal

In Kashmir Buddhism started on its downward path as early as the 6th Century A.D. when its monks began to lead

77. *Rajat.*, VIII. vv. 2401-2402, 2433.
78. *Rajat.*, VIII, v. 2410 ; Stein, M.A., has not been able to locate the place.
79. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 2417.
80. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 2431.
    Bhuttapur or Butapur is situated in Machpur Pargana. It may be 'Batpoora' 79°-19'. 30", 34°.26' 30" Lat. Stein is not sure (Stein, *Rajat.*, Vol. II, p. 188).
81. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 3343.
82. *Rajat.*, VIII, vv. 3352-3353.
83. *Bühler's Report*, p. 73.
84. *Eqi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 300-302.
    Refer Chapter VI also.

the life of worldly comforts.[85] By the 8th and 9th Centuries Buddhism became so corrupt that it no longer attracted the people.[86] In the 10th and 11th centuries, the monks and nuns lost high ideals of morality.[87] The works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva bear ample testimony[88] to this state of affairs. Upto the middle of the 14th Century, the hold of Shaktism over Mahāyāna Buddhism unfortunately became tightened and the latter became foully erotic.[89] Each Dhyāni Bodhisattva began to have a consort.[90] Thus, Buddhism died away in the North. The Tantra system, a mixture of magic and witchcraft and Shiva worship was introduced into the corrupted Buddhism.[91]

External Causes

According to Chinese Buddhist scripture, king Mihirukula's (515-556 A.D.) persecution of Buddhist followers brought the end of Buddhism in the North[92] and the streams of Swat overflowed with blood.[93] He demolished 1600 topes and monasteries and put to death 9 *kotis* of adherents of Buddhism.[94]

Hindu kings of the valley after king Avantivaran (855-883 A.D.) did not show any regard for Buddhism. On the

85. Eliot, *Hind. amd Buddh.*, Vol. II, p. 109 ;
    Rajat., III, v. 12.
86. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 245-246.
87. *Deso. and Narmamala*, (Ed. by M. Kaul) Kash. Series, 1923, pp. 9-35.
88. Vide Chapter VIII of this thesis.
89. Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, p. 80. 1924
90. Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, p. 88.
91. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 207 ;
    Tibetan Tales by Schiefner, Intro. p. XI, XII.
92. Beal's Catena, p. 138, fn. 3.
93. Beal's Catena, p. 139 :
    Rhys Davids, *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, p. 87.
94. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 288-289 ;
    Rhys Davids, *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, p. 87.
    '*Kot*' is generally taken for one thousand. T. Watters' letter to Rhys Davids vide *J.P.T.S.*, 1896, pp. 110-111, states Mihirkula demolished topes and Vihāras. He slew Buddhist Bhikshus with a religious motive, because he was a great non-Buddhist.

other hand, as Kalhaṇa narrates, King Kṣemgupta (950-958 A.D.) and King Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) showed great disrespect towards Buddha and Buddhist monuments. In short Buddhism lost state patronage.

Brahmanas due to jealousy towards the growing popularity of Buddhism tried to uproot the faith from the valley. The great writers and reformers Kumarila Bhatt, Shankaracharya, and Abhinavgupta preached Hinduism. Buddhism which had lost the patronage of the kings could not stand the onslaught of these Hindu preachers.

The advent of Islam with its political dominance became a powerful cause of the fall of Buddhism.

Shah Mirza became the first Muslim king of Kashmir in 1339 A.D.[95] Buddhism was prevailing in the valley at that time.[96] During the Islamic period, Buddhism which had been so prominent a religion in the past, was crushed by some of its rulers and was left to its fate by others.[97] There is no example of any Muslim ruler of Kashmir of this time who might have appointed a Buddhist to a high position in the state service. Ali Shah is a rare example who appointed Tilakacharya a Buddhist in the highest position. He also spared a golden image of Buddha.[98] King Haider Shahi (1470-72 A.D.) cut off the arms and noses of Ajara, Amara Buddha.[99] Sikander (C. 1495-1316 A.D.)[100] is still remembered in Kashmir with horror. He mercilessly destroyed Hindu temples and images, works of art and architecture, and attempted to convert the people to Islam. Many Hindus fled from Kashmir to save themselves and their religion. Some Buddhists settled in Ladakh and hence went to China and others were converted

95. Vide Chapter V of this thesis.
96. *J.A.S.B.* Jarrett, Part I, 1880, p. 17.
97. *Jonaraja and Shrivara's Rajat*, depict this.
98. J.C. Dutt, *The Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, pp. 83-84.
99. J.C. Dutt. *The Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 195.
100. *J.R.B.S.*, 1918, p. 455.

to Islam. Those who remained in the valley were very small in number and were hated by the ruling class.[101] Buddhism seems to have vanished with the Muhammadan conquest of the land.[102]

Dr. Hoffmann says, Kalchakra Tantra, which had borrowed much from the system of Shaivism, Vaishnuvism and foreign teachings, and was the last attempt to revive the slowly declining Buddhism, could not save the religion from the shocks of Muhammadan irruptions.[103]

101. Wolsely Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 1958, p. 279-80 : D.D. Pandey, *Avadana-Kalaplata* (Churamani-Avadana), Intro., p. 1.
102. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 246 ; Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan*, 1903, p. XV.
103. H. Hoffmann, *The Religion of Tibet*, pp. 123-124. *Kalchakra Tantra*, orignated in Simbla in a country in the North beyond Jaxartes (45° and 50°). It was introduced in Central India in the last half of the 10th Century. From Central India it travelled to Kashmir and thence to Tibet (*J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) Vol. III, 1907, pp. 225-226 ; *J.A.S.B.*, No. 2, 1952, p. 71 ; Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, p. 126).

CHAPTER IV

BUDDHISM AND SOCIAL LIFE

Although Buddhism, which had once for centuries dominated the Kashmir valley, gradually disappeared from the land, yet it has left a prominent mark on the character of the people.

Diet

According to Lankavatara Sutra[1] (Tr. in 433 A.D.) Buddha forbade the use of meat for various reasons :-

(1) Meat should not be taken as the animal whose meat is eaten may be one's own near and dear relative in the past life.

(2) Sometimes the flesh of a dog, buffalo or a bull is sold. A Bodhisattva who is to treat all creatures as his kins should not eat it.

(3) A person who eats meat cannot attain Nirvana. He in the process of transmigration of the soul falls into the wombs

1. *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (Tr. by Suzuki), 8th Chapter, 1956, pp. 212-213, 216-221, vv. 245-258.
Lankāvatāra Sūtra existed before 443 A.D. while chapters I, IX and X were written between 443-513 A.D. (Wintzernitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 333).

of flesh-devouring creatures as lions, tigers, etc. His heart is devoid of compassion and he practises cruelties.

(4) A meat eater is evil minded and is the destroyer of the welfare of two worlds. He is deprived of wisdom.

(5) Meat is the food for the carnivorous and it causes nauseating odour. It is avoided by Boddhisattva and Maha-sattvas.

(6) A meat-eater goes to Raurva-hell.

(7) As greed is the hindrance to emancipation, so is meat-eating.

(8) Meat is made of semen and blood. Killing of animals causes terror in the animals.

Finally in Lankāvatār Sūtra, Buddha says : "Meat is prohibited by me in Sūtras as Hastikakshya, the Mahāmegha, the Nirvaṇa, the Anglimālika and the Lankāvatāra."[2]

These teachings of Buddha seem to have produced a temporary effect. The people of Kashmir were non-vegetarians, but preachings of Buddhism made Kashmiri Pandits abstain from meat on certain days of the year, such as, Ekadashi, Purnamashi, Amavasya, Ashtami and Sangrand of every month on religious ground. This rule is even now observed in the valley.

Buddhism prohibits animal slaughter.[3] According to

2. *Lankavatar Sūtra* (Tr. by Suzuki), 1956, p. 221, v. 258.
3. *Dand-Vaggo* (Ed. by Rahulji), vide *Dhammapadam*, p. 60. v. ;
आत्मानं उपमा कृत्वा न हन्यात् न घातयेत ।
Buddh-Vaggo (Ed. by Rahulji), vide *Dhammapadam*, p. 84, v. 7 ;
अनुपधातः, एतद बुद्धानां शासनम् ।
Mal-Vaggo (Ed. by Rahulji), vide *Dhammapadam*, p. 111, v. 13 ;
इहैवमेष लोकेमूलं खनत्यात्मनः ।
Dhamm-Math-Vaggo (Ed. by Rahulji), vide *Dhammapadam*, p. 120, v. 15.
न तेनाऽर्यो भवति येन प्रणान् हिनस्ति ।
Sutt. Nikaya in *Vasal-Sutt*, vide *Buddh-Bani*, v. 2.

Kalhaṇa, due to their love for Buddhism, King Aśoka[4] (3rd Century B.C.), Kanishka[5] (1st Century A.D.) and Meghavahana[6] prohibited the slaughter of animals in the valley. King Matrigupta[7] not only prohibited the slaughter of animals, but ordered to offer porridge made of pulvarised gold and other stuffs to gods instead of bloody sacrifices. King Avantivarman[8] (9th Century A.D.), prohibited completely the slaughter of animals, and even the catching of fish and birds in the country.

How far Kalhaṇa is correct in making these statements, we have no means of ascertaining. But as these ordinances are concerned with Kashmir, such complete prohibition seems impracticable. It might have succeeded for some time.

Fairs And Festivals

Buddha's Birthday

Buddha's birthday was celebrated according to the Nilamata Purana with great rejoicing in the bright half of the month of Vaisakha. Buddha's Chaityas were decorated with beautiful paintings, and Buddha's images were bathed in holy water. The dwelling places of the Sakyas were white-washed. Buddha's image was offered water scents, flowers and jewels. For three days worship continued with the chanting of the holy verses.[9] It was celebrated with all pomp and show even in the times of Kṣemendra (10th and 11th Centuries). He composed his Avadānkalpalatā on this festival day. Somendra writes about it in the introduction to the former's work.[10]

4. *Rajat.*, I, v. 102.
5. *Rajat.*, I, v. 171.
6. *Rajat.*, III, v. 6.
7. *Rajat.*, III, v. 256.
8. *Rajat.*, V. vv. 64, 119.
9. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese), vv. 684-690.
10. *Avadānakalpalatā*, Intro., v. 16.
'संवत्सरे सप्तविंशे वैशाखस्य सितोदये ।
कृतेयं कल्पलतिका जिनजन्मोत्सवे ॥'
i.e. in the month of the lunar half of Vaisakha of the 27th year probably 1027 A.D.

This festival of Buddha's birth-day is still observed in the valley.

Khīr Bhavāni Fair

Khīr Bhavāni is considered a sacred deity in Kashmir. She is known as the goddess of milk also. The Hindus of the valley worship the deity with sugar, milk, rice and flowers. But the peculiarity is that even now Hindus abstain from meat on the day they visit her temple.[11]

Kashmiris take plenty of meat on the occasion of their festivals. Shivrātri which has special significance in Kashmir is famous for meat dishes. The fact they abstain from it, while visiting the temple of Khīr Bhavāni, is due to the effect of Buddhism.

Rishi-Malu's Anniversary

Near Jama Masjid in Anantnag is the tomb of Bāba Haider, called Hardi Rishi or Rishi Mālu. Every year the death anniversary of the Saint known as Rishi Mol or Rishi Malu is celebrated by the Kashmiris. It is a unique fair in which nearly the whole population takes part. Muslims though in majority abstain from meat along with other participants for full one week. At the end of it cooked rice, radish and eggs form parts of the feast.[12]

Bhat-Mol's Anniversary

At Batmālu in Srinagar is the tomb of Baba Bhaṭ Mol. Every year for full one week, three days before 15th of April and three days after 15th of April (15th being the actual death day) a fair is held here. Hindus as well as Muslims take part in it and abstain from meat. This fair is particularly attached much importance by the people of Baṭmalu locality. It is commonly

11. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 296-297.
12. Sufi G.M.D., *Kashir* Vol. II, p. 570 ;
C.L. Kaul, Our Festivals vide *Kashmir Joun.* 1956, p. 27

believed that the Rishi was first Hindu, then he became Muslim and was fond of the compaṅy of Buddhists also.[13]

Education

With the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir education became popular in the valley. Many mathas and Vihāras, which were in the beginning open to Buddhists only, became subsequently the centres of learning for the masses. These were residential institutions which promoted higher philosophical learning and attracted students from all parts of India, Tibet and China.[14] When Yuan-Chwang visited the valley (7th Century A.D.), the most notable centre of learning probably was Jayendra Monastery near the capital.[15] Mathas as centres of learning and residents of students are mentioned by Kalhaṇa as well (Rajat. VI. 87-88 ; Rajat V. 29)

Vasubhadra

Vibhāṣa-Śāstras are the product of Kashmir.[16] The very fact that these works were produced in Kashmir proves that Kashmir must have been a great centre of higher learning and thought. It is obvious that it was visited by eager scholars from all parts of India. A great scholar Vasubhadra, who was eager to learn Vibhāṣa Śāstras came to Kashmir and lived here for a pretty long time. In order to get access to the Śāstras which were completely guarded by the learned scholars, he entered the valley in the guise of a mad man, learnt the work by heart and returned to Ayodhya, to make known this great treasure of Buddhist scripture to the people outside Kashmir.

Vasubandhu

Another example of how people eagerly sought the

13. The writer has visited the locality and cross-questioned the residents. The Rishi is known Bhaṭ-Mol because during famine days, he distributed free rice (Bhāt) to all the visitors. The locality is named after the Rishi's magnanimity.
14. Dr. Kaul, *Educational Studies and Investigation* (Journal), 1951, Vol. I.
15. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 69, 70, 77, 84, 127, 137 ; Dr. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, p. 131.
16. Vide Chapter II of this thesis.

opportunity of sitting at the feet of Kashmiri savants is furnished by Vasubandhu of Peshawar. He learnt Abhidharma Philosophy in Kashmir and wrote the Abhidharma Koṣa Śāstra.[17] It is preserved in sixty volumes in Chinese translation. Its Sanskrit text is lost but the commentary written by Yaśomitra is available. It is called Koṣa-Vyākhya.[18] Koṣa Yyākhya has helped in restoring the lost faith. It has been worked by Prof. L. de La Valle's Poussin of Belgium and compiled by Rahul Saṅkrityayane of India.[19] The Buddhist monasteries continued to be the great seats of learning even during the medieval period.[20]

Foreign Students in Kashmir

Fa-Yong, a Chinese monk, visited India in 420 A. D. with 25 other monks. He spent one year in Kashmir and studied Sanskrit language and Buddhist texts.[2]

Yuan-Chwang was a most distinguished pilgrim to India. He was a Chinese Sramma of Lo-Yan in Ho-nam. He received his ordination in 622 A.D. at Chen-tu,[22] and started his journey to India in 629 A.D.[23] He stayed in Kashmir for two years and studied Sūtras, Śastras and other sacred Buddhist works.[24] The king of Kashmir gave him twenty clerks to copy the sacred

17. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 60 ; *Bu-Ston* (Tr. by Obermiller), 1932, pp. 142-145.
At the request of Kashmir Vaibhāsakās he expanded the work in prose as well (Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 210-11) Both the works were written at Ayodhya.
18. *Nanjio Catal.*, No. 1267 ; Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 60.
19. Takakusu, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 60.
20. Khawariqu's Salakin, f. 155 b ; W.K. f 41 a ; quoted by M. Hasan vide *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 260.
21. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 65.
22. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 246.
23. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 70-71 ; P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 113.
24. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 259 ; Beal, *Si-Yu-ki*, p. 72.

books,[25] and five men as attendants.[26] The Chief of these twenty priests was very learned and a man of high morals. He explained difficult passages and mysteries to Yuan-Chwang. When he explained the Buddhist scriptures, learned men of the kingdom flocked to him and listened to his discourses. So learned Yuan-Chwang became that he won the applause of the people of the valley. In the words of the Chief priest 'he could join in succession to the fame of Vasubandhu.'[27]

Wu-Ḱong, another Chinese pilgrim, came to India in 751 A.D. in the T'ang period. He spent several years in Kashmir, studying the Buddhist texts. He returned to China in 790 A.D.[28]

Ou-Ḱong, a Chinese, took his final vows of a Buddhist Sramna in Kashmir. He spen there no less than four years. He studied the Vinäya of Mulsarvästivädins and had his lessons in the Śilas. He went on pilgrimage to the sacred sites in the valley. It is likely that during his sojourn in Kashmir he stayed in Muktapiḍa's Vihāra at Huṣkapura.[29]

Kumarjiva was born in 343 A.D. He was the son of a Kashmiri scholar who had established himself at Kuchi, having married the sister of the local king.[30] Kumarjiva received his elementary education at Kuchi. At the age of nine his mother brought him to Kashmir.[31] The mother who had been a nun previously started Kumarjiva's career as a Buddhist monk from the age of seven. In Kashmir she entrusted her child to

25. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 259 ;
 Beal, *Se-Yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 259.
26. Watters, *Ynan-Ch.*. Vol. I, p. 259.
27. Beal, *Si-Yu-ki*, p. 70.
28. Bagchi, *India and China*. p. 78.
29. *Ou-Ḱong*, Stein, M.A., pp. 2-8.
30. K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 27 ;
 P.N. Bose, *India and China*, p. 58.
31. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 33 ;
 K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 33 ;
 2500 Years of Buddhism, p. 239.

Bandhudatta,[32] a celebrated Sarvästivädin scholar. Kumarjiva stayed in Kashmir for three years and studied Buddhist philosophy and literature,[33] specially Madhyama Agama and Drigha Agama (i.e. Nikäyas).[34] Kumarjiva learnt the Vinaya of Sarvāstivāda in ten sections from Vimalākṣa, a Kashmiri in Kuchi, who had migrated there. From there he went to China.[35] Kumarjiva began as an Hinäyäna, but later on became staunch Mahäyänist due to Suryasena's influence. Suryasena was the propagator of Nagarjuna's theory in Kashmir.[36]

Ghnorg, a Tibetan, came to Kashmir for study and stayed in Pravarpur or Srinagar. He was sent by King Che-Lde (1058-1108 A.D.) of Tibet. He stayed in Kashmir upto 1092 A.D. and learnt 'Nyaya' from Pandit Parihat Bhadra and Pandit Bhavya Raj. He studied Yoga-Chara books also from Amargomi.[37]

In 1025 A.D. Lama Yesehod king of Tibet sent 21 selected Tibetan lads under two learned pandits, to Kashmir to learn the Buddhist philosophy of Vinaya. Nineteen youngmen died of heat and hardships, but the labours of two survivors Rinchhen-Zan-po, the great Lochava (pandit) and Legs Pahi Serab, were crowned with success. They returned to Tibet after completing their studies in Kashmir.[38]

Sā-Skya Pandit (1182-1251 A.D.) was the leader of the Lama sect and king of a large part of Tibet. He received his education under the supervision of a great pandit of Kashmir

32. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 33 ;
 K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 27 ;
 2500 Years of Buddhism, p. 239.
33. K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 27.
34. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 58.
35. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 60 ;
 Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 47.
36. K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 30. Also see Appendix A.
37. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddh Dharm*, pp. 39-40.
38. S.C. Dass, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 51-52 ;
 Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddh Dharm*, p. 33 ;
 2500 Years of Buddhism, p. 232.

named Shakyashribhadra in the year 1208 A.D. and mastered the six dharmas of Naropa in addition to Kālchakra Tantra.[39]

The visit of all these foreigners to Kashmir in search of Buddhist learning and literature is sufficient to show how widespread education was in Kashmir, and also how the profound learning of the pandits of the valley attracted students from foreign countries as well.

Kashmir with its bracing climate was a centre of learning[40] and was regarded the home of knowledge. Writers from other places sent their books for approval to its learned pandits.[41] It produced great writers like Mentha, Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa, Vāmana Bhaṭṭa, Damodar Gupta, Kṣirsvāmin, Bhaṭṭ Udbhaṭṭa, Thakkiya, Manoratha, Sakhandana, Catka, Sandhimat, Vasugupta, Rudrat, Śivasvamin, Somananda, Utpaladeva, Anandvardhana, Ratnakara Mukkakana, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭṭa, Induraja, Kayyaṭa, Abhinavgupta, Kṣemaraja, Ksemendra, Yogaraja, Bhilhana, Somadeva, Ruyyaka, Mammaṭa, Kalhaṇa, Mankha, Jayadratha,[42] etc. The writings of most of these scholars were profoundly influenced by Buddhism.[43]

Brahmanas of the valley had sufficient stock of books which they studied regularly. Upto Bilhaṇa's time Sanskrit seems to have been very popular. This poet says that even women spoke Sanskrit.[44]

Sharda, alphabet dates from 8th or 9th century A.D. The oldest available Sharda inscription belongs to the time of Didda Rani (980-1004 A.D.) It was inscribed on her coins which are preserved in the Srinagar museum.[45] The common alphabet

39. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, p. 136.
40. P.N. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society and Culture during Mughal Period*, pp. 142-143.
41. *Alberuni's India*, p. 135.
42. T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chrono. Chart of the History of Kashmir*, pp. 8-20.
43. Vide Chapter on Literature in Kashmir.
44. *Vikramankdev-Charitam*, XVIII. v. 6.
45. *Bühler's Report*, p. 31.

is known as Siddhamātrika which perhaps originated in Kashmir.[46]

Numerals

In an age when numerals were not known in other parts of India Kashmiris marked their books with figures which looked like drawings, or the Chinese Character.[47]

Writing Paper and Ink

Kashmiris prepared indelible ink[48] "by converting almonds into charcoal and boiling the coal thus obtained in Gomutra (urine bovis)."[49] This ink is neither affected adversely by damp nor by water.[50] All Kashmiri documents were written on Bhurjapattra[51] or on Tuz[52] from earliest time to the time of Akbar.

Worship

Even nowadays when offerings are made at Yajñanas to Hindu gods and goddesses, they are made to Buddhist Triratna (The three jewels, the Buddha, the Sangha and the Law) and to the Buddhist goddesses, Tārā, Sutara, Varahi, Marichi, Lochana Pandarvasini, Vidāyrajni, Vasundhra, Prajñaparāmitā, Mohārātri, Ragarātri and Vajrāratri. These goddesses are remembered in various Stotras and Stavas which are recited in

46. *Alberuni's India*, p. 173.
47. *Alberuni's India*, p. 174.
48. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II (Jarrett), p. 351.
49. *Bühler's Report*, p. 30.
50. *Bühler's Report*, p. 30.
51. *Bühler's Report*, p. 29.
52. *Ta-Hassan* (*Mss*) Vol. I, p. 382.
Bhurjapattra or Tuz is the bark of a tree probably of palm tree (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 351).

Kashmir temples and in Hindu homes.[53] In Bhavani-Shastranamam Stotra, there is a mention of Buddhist goddesses Prajña-parāmita, Tāra, Buddhamāta, Jineshvari, Jinamāta, Vajrahasta and Lochana.[54]

Similarly on Aṣhtami-Vrata (8th day of the lunar half of every month) oblations to Buddha and Boddhisattvas are made along with other Shaivite deities.[55]

53. Ganhars, *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 161.
Pandit Shambhunath Bhan of Dharmarath Trust told me, these deities are still worshipped in the valley.
54. *Bhavani-Shastranam Stotra*, p. 61 ;
Ganhars, *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*, p. 161.
55. (a) Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 118.
(b) Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, Vol. II, p. 390.
(c) Pandit Shambhunath Bhan of Dharmarath Trust told me, such a practice still continues in Kashmir.
(d) Tara of Prajña-paramita are one and are known as Buddha's Shaktis (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, Vol. II, p. 398)
Vajrayāna was a form of Tantrism in Buddhism (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 400).

CHAPTER V

BUDDHISM AND THE PEOPLE OF THE VALLEY

Ancient Kashmir, a home of culture,[1] reared Buddhism for nearly nine centuries. It died on account of its own internal decay, lack of state patronage and the blow administered by Mohammadenism.[2] Nevertheless Buddhism has left deep-rooted marks on the religions of the valley.

Shaivism

Shiva worship, it seems, occupied the first place among the cults of the valley.[3] It is probably as old in Kashmir as in the rest of India.

In Mahabharta (Drona Parva) Rudra is omnipotent and the supreme master. He is called Mahadeva as he protects the universe; Tryamvka, as firmament, water and earth three goddesses adore and have recourse to that lord of universe; Hara, as he is the destroyer of Brahama and Indra; Yama and Kuvera and Bhava, as he is the origin of the past and the present and the future.[4] In this great epic it is specifically

1. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 31.
2. Vide Chapter III of this thesis.
3. Stein. M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 8.
4. *M.Bh.*, Sec. CCII, (Tr. by P.C. Roy), pp. 119, 123, 130, 133, 154.

mentioned that Shiva and Uma may be propitiated in Kashmir.[5]

At the time when Buddhism became popular in Kashmir, the main feature of Shiva-worsihp in the valley was Ardhanāri Nateshvara.[6] It subsequently turned into Shiva's worship as Sadashiv and his consort Parwati as Bhavani.[7] Kalhaṇa mentions a shrine of Shiva-Vijayeṣa even in pre-Aśokan days, and says that Aśoka and Jaloka also built Shiva temples.[8] Centuries before Kalhaṇa's time Buddhism and the orthodox Hindu creeds existed side by side in Kashmir. Almost all royal and private individuals, according to Kalhaṇa's Raja-tarangiṇī, who are credited with the foundations of Buddhist stūpas and Vihāras, with equal zeal, endowed shrines of Shiva or Vishnu.[9]

The Buddhists followed non-interfering policy till Nagarjuna, who lived in the time of Kanishka according to Kalhaṇa, and who utilised all his means both of learning and position to spread Buddhism.[10] He rejected the duties prescribed in Nilamata-Pūraṇa and defeated in arguments the Pandits who upheld the worship of Shiva.[11] Kanishka gave the whole of Kashmir as a gift to the Buddhists.[12] This aroused the jealousies of the Brahamanas and the struggle between Buddhism and Shaivism began.[13] This finds support in the tradition recorded by Varadarāja in an introductory verse to his

5. *M.Bh.*, III, 130. 13 ;
Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 226.
6. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 2, 72 ;
K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 85.
7. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 389.
8. *Rajat.*, I, vv. 105, 106, 124.
9. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 9.
10. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 177-178 ;
K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 85-86.
For Nagarjuna, please consult Appendix A of this thesis.
11. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 178-179 ;
H.H. Wilson, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, p. 148.
12. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 271 ;
2500 Years of Buddhism, p. 201.
13. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*. Vol. I, pp. 85-86,

vartika on Vasugupta's Shiva Sūtra.[14] The immediate result was that the teachings of the local religion, which till then were floating traditions, were systematised for the first time by a pious Brahmana ascetic, Chandradeva.[15] Until this time Shaivism had no literature of its own as far as the valley of Kashmir was concerned.[16] Vardaraja also writes that the Shiva Sūtras were for the first time recorded due to the fear of their being annihilated because of Nagarjuna's teachings.[17]

This religious literature seems to have developed by the end of the 6th or by the 7th Century A.D. Nilmata mentions some treatise, named 'Shivdharma,' which probably contained some religious duties to Shiva.[18] Abhinav-Shankar in his Rudra-Bhāṣya lays the foundation of the tenents of Shaivism concerning Pati, Paśu and Paśa or 'Pashunam Patih' (the lord of Creatures).[19] Kalhaṇa also refers to the Pashupati Sect.[20]

At the time when Buddhism exercised great influence in Kashmir Advaita Shaivism (as prepared by Trika) made its appearance.[21] In the beginning of the 9th and towards the end of the 8th Century Shiv Sutras, which are the most

14. *Shiva-Sutra Vartika*, vv. 1, 2.
नागबोध्यादिभिः सिद्धैर्नास्तिकानां पुरः सरैः ।
आक्रान्ते जीव लोकेऽस्मिन्नात्मेश्वर निरासके: ॥ ।१।
रहस्य सम्प्रदायो यं मा विच्छेदीत्यं तुच्छया ।
स्वच्छेया शिवसुत्रवि समालिख्य शिलातले ॥ ।२।
15. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 182-184 ;
K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 85-86.
Shri Pandey adds that this is the only Historical truth given by Kalhaṇa. H.H. Wilson, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, p. 149 says Chandracharya of Kashmir (C. 1st Century B.C.) was the first apostle of Brahamanism in the valley.
16. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 85-86.
17. *Shiv-Sutra Vartika*, vv. 1, 2.
18. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese), v. 511 श्रीतव्या शिवधर्मश्च ।
19. *Rudra-Bhasyam*, 1913. p. 71.
J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 1, fn. 2, writes this is the triple principle of Trika.
20. *Rajat.*, I. v. 17, III. vv. 267, 460 ; V. v. 404.
21. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 34.

important parts of Trika philosophy[22] are said to have been revealed to Vasugupta. Their authorship is attributed to Shiva himself. Shiva Sutra I discusses the theory of Atman and refutes the Buddhist theory of Shunya. It establishes the theory of Chaitanya-Ātman.[23] (चैतन्यात्मा) । It shows that the Trika philosophy originated and developed due to the effect of Buddhism and that Vasugupta tried to establish Shiva-philosophy by refuting Buddhist Philosophical theories.

By the beginning of the 9th Century Kashmir had its own special branch of Shaivism, known as 'Trika' or Kashmir Shaivism or Advaita philosophy.[24] To conclude, not only the seed of philosophy of Shaivism was sown due to the effect of Buddhism but the literature of Shiva-philosophy also developed refuting scme of the Buddhist ideals and accept'ng others.

Trika and the Effect of Buddhism

Kashmir Shaivism or Trika Literature has three broad divisions : (1) The Āgma-Shastra, (2) The Spanda-Shastra, and (3) The Pratyabhijñā Shastra.[25]

The Agma Shastra

The most important part of Agma Shastra are Shiv Sūtras. Their authorship is attributed to Shiva. They teach

22. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 9.
23. *Shiv-Sutra Vimarshni*, *Kashmir Series*, 1, 911, Vol. 1, pp. 4-7.
Vasgupta (C. 9th Century A.D.). He lived at Harwan, the ancient Shadarhadvana beyond Shalamar garden in Srinagar. He was a holy sage. Shiva-Sūtras taught by him laid the foundation of Advaita Shaivism of Kashmir (J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 23-29).
24. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 1-3 ;
K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 83.
Trika or Advaita is mainly the collection of some very old Tantras in different interpretation, and before 'Trika'. Tantras represented dualistic system (J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*. p. 10).
25. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 7.

Advaita Tattva (idealistic monism).[26] Vasugupta and Somananda are the human founders of Advaita Shaivism which is peculiar to Kashmir.[27] They must have lived at end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th Century.[23]

Spanda Shastra

It has fifty two sūtras based upon Shiv-Sūtras. Kṣemraja attributes their composition to Vasugupta, but they were composed most likely by the latter's tutor, Kallatta, who lived in the reign of Avantivarman (855-833 A.D.)[29]

Pratyabhijña Shastra

It is the philosophy proper known as Vichar-Shastra or Manana. The founder of this school was Siddha Somananda, who was probably Vasugupta's tutor. The foundation of this branch was 'The Shiv Drishti.' This was composed by Somananda himself. 'Shiv Drishti' is the same as Shiva-Darshana which was par excellence the philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism. The next important work of the branch is Isvara Pratyabhijña or simply the Pratyabhijña Sūtra of Utpala, the famous pupil of Somananda.[30]

26. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 23.
Āgma Shastra. Shiva was touched by the suffering humanity caused by the absence of Shivāgmas. He advised Durvasa sage to revive Shivagmas in three classes. Monism, dualism or monism-cum-dualism was taught to his three mind born sons Tryambaka, Amardaka and Srinatha. Thus three Tantra systems came into existence. (K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 69-72).
27. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 23.
Somananda is known as the decendent of sage Durvasa, who taught Shiv Āgmas (J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 24-25).
28. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 9.
29. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 15.
Kallatta lived in the later part of the 9th Century.
Vasugupta was his Guru (J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 23).
30. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 15-19.

Abhinava-Gupta (11th Century A.D.)[31] deals comprehensively with Shaivism in all its aspects in Tantraloka.[32] He explains his Trika system with certain modifications in connection with the theory of perception. His explanation accepts 24 categories together with pursha concept of Sankhya, the principle of momentariness of the Buddha and the Māyā of the Vedantin.[33] Trika theory of Abhinava Gupta has accepted the Buddhist theory of momentariness of both the subject and the object.[34]

"Like the Buddhists, the 'Trika' also holds that the 'apparent' is momentary."[35] "According to 'Trika' 'Indriyas' are the product of Ahnkāra and according to Buddhism also 'Indriyas' are the outcome of Ahankaras."[36]

31. *Bühler's Report*, p. 65.
32. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 21.
Abhinavagupta, was the pupil of the pupils of Somananda and was the fourth in succession (J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp. 24-25).
33. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagputa*, Vol. I, 1935. p. 195.
Trika-theory of Perception. According to Abhinava "The Trika holds that the phenomenon of knowledges owes its being solely to the will power of the universal consciousness which at the time of each cognition manifests externally anew the subject, the object and the means of cognition," (K.C. Pandy, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 274-275).
Pursha concept of Sankhya. "According to Sankhya, the whole universe is an evolute of an eternal principle called Prakrti, the Pursha the self is passive." (K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935. p. 193).
Momentariness of Buddha. There is neither the subject nor the object. There is nothing real as everything is devoid of its independent nature. Things seen are in their imposed (aropita) form and not in their own form (Sva-rupa). The meditation on Sunyata, extincts the idea of 'I' and 'mine'. Thus Karmas and passions vanish and Moksha is attained. Moksha is the realisation of nihility (*The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I, p. 260).
Māyā of Vedantin. "Māyā is the first manifestation of impure creation. Its manifestation first of all breaks the unity of the universal self." (K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 244).
34. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 259.
35. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 307.
36. *Samyutta Nikāya* XXII. 47. 5,
अस्मीति खो भिक्खवे अधिगते अथ पन्चन्नम् ।
इन्द्रियानम् अवक्कन्ति होति ।
J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 117.

Shankaracharya and Buddhism

Shankaracharya, who is mainly responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism, was born in 788 A.D. in a family of Nambuderi Brahamanas at Kaladi in the Kochin State.[37] He reached Kashmir in or about 8th Century A.D., after giving a blow to Buddhism in the rest of India.[38] Shankara's visit to the valley strengthened the position of Shaivism in Kashmir which was already the religion of the masses.[39]

Coming to Kashmir, Shankaracharya challenged Mandan Misra, who was a local authority on religion for a discourse. In the whole valley no better judge could be found than Ubhayabharati, Mandan Misra's wife. Misra lost the debate, but his shrewd wife took it up. She forced Shankaracharya to plead for postponement "so that to continue the debate he may require requisite knowledge which he lacked."[40]

Shankara's conception of the ultimate reality was the same as that of Pratyabijña. His Dekṣina Murti Stotra, explained by his pupil Sureṣvarācarya on the commentary of the above, is a testimony to this fact.[41]

Shankaracharya realised that the strength of Buddhism lay in its high morality, freedom from superstitions and ecclesiastical organisation. He organised the ascetic orders of Hinduism on the model of Buddhist institutions, and established an order of ascetics, called Daṣanamis.[42]

37. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 207.
38. P.N. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 6.
Shankar Digvijya, Ch. XVI. v. 58 कश्मीरदेशाय जगाम हृष्ट: श्री शंकरौ ।
K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 88 dates Shankaracharya the second decade of the 9th Century.
The generally accepted date of Shankaracharya is 788 AD and he is supposed to have died in 820 A.D. (S.S. Shastri, *Shankaracharya*, p. 6).
39. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 90.
40. Lila Ray, *Women of India*, p. 179.
41. K.C. Pandey. *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 88.
42. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 209-211.

Shankaracharya's doctrine of Maya and the distinction between the higher and lower truth are identical with the Madhyamika school of Buddhism. He became known for all this, as has been already said, a Buddhist in disguise.[43]

Shankar's philosophy gave a new turn to Shaivism. In the 9th century a distinct school of Shaivism came to flourish in Kashmir. It was mainly influenced by his philosophy. "It substituted the Advaita philosophy for the dualistic teachings of the Āgmas".[44]

Tantrism and Buddhism

The tantric ideas of the Vedas and the need for incantation and magic spells supplied by them (especially by Atharvaveda), played a great part on the Indian mind. Even Buddhism could not dispense with them.[45] Dhammapada's commentary (C. 450 A.D.)[46] records that Buddha on a drinking festival sent a ray of light from his eye-brow and there was black darkness.[47] Buddhists borrowed Dharni (Paritta in Pali)

43. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, pp. 74, 211 ;
2500 Years of Buddhism, p. 352.
Madhyamika School. Before Nagarjuna Buddhists were divided into two extreme groups, (i) the Sarvāstivādins who believed in real existence and (ii) the Śunyavadins who believed in total annihilation or that nothing exists except the one great reality. Nagarjuna discovered a new faith named "Madhyamika" shunning the extremities. (S.C. Dass, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 16 ; Waddell, p. 124 ; *Bu-Ston* (Tr. by Obdermiller, 1932, p. 135).
Shankara in his Bhāṣya speaks of Śunyavāda as the raving of a mad man. The Buddhists however take it in a more serious light and charge Shankara with stealing the idea of 'Śunya' from them and giving it a new name, Brahama. (H.P. Shastri, Intro. to *Adv. Vaj. Sang*).
44. *C.H.I.*, Vol. II, p. 127.
45. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 380 ;
Ath. Veda III, 125 ; VI. 130 ; VI. 138 ; VI. 131, 4, 14 and XIV. *Vedic Sahitya*, Baldev. Up., 1955, pp. 161-167.
46. *Buddhist Legends*, Part I, pp. 57-58.
47. *Buddhist Legends*, Part , p. 38.

or the Magical formula frcm the Vedas.[48] Dharnis are mentioned in Milindapañho,[49] Cullavagga,[50] Jātakā tale,[51] Digha Nikāya[52] and Lankavtār Sūtra.[53] Nagarjuna's Sahja-marga, according to Asanga's Madhyana Samparigraha-Śastra means the recitcal of Buddha's name.[54] Nagarjuna based his teachings on Prajna-Pāramita[55] which is a great spiritual Dharni. It is light-giving, unsurpassed, and able to destroy

48. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 380, and fn. 2 Nariman, *History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 112.
Dharni is the protecting magic formula. Its efficacy rests on repetition. It can be worn on person in an amulet shape with a mantra written on a birch-bark or palm leaf. (N. Dutt, *Gil. Mss.* Vol. I, p. 61 ; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 380, fn. 2) Dharnis generally range from fifty to one hundred syllables (H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vajra Sangh*, p. XXIX).
49. *The Questions of King Milinda*, Rhys Davids, p. 213.
50. *Cullavagga* vide *Vinayapitaka* (Ed. by Oldenberg), V. 6. *The Questions of King Milinda*, Rhys Davids, p. 213, fn. 2.
51. *Jataka*, No. 293.
52. *Digha Nikāya* 32 (quoted by oldenberg in his note to v. 6 of *Chulluvagga* vide *Vinayapitaka*).
53. *Lankāvtar Su.* Tr. by Suzuki, Ch. IX.
Sādhana Samuccaya or Sādhana Mala the collection of Buddhist works on magic. The deities worshipped in these Sadhanas are Dhyani-Buddhas and their families and also numerous forms of Tara and other female deities. Vajranaṅga, an incarnation of Manjuśri, a Buddhist God of Love is evoked in Sādhanas No. 59 and 60. Here it is taught, how a man can get a woman into his power. All the Sādhanas are magic formule. (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, pp. 390-91).
54. R. Kimura, *Hina and Maha. Budd.*, p. 42.
55. *Waddell*, p. 125.
Prajna-Paramita written by Nagarjuna, examines everything under four heads,—Sat (existence), Asat (non-existence), Tad-Ubheya (a combination of existence and non-existence) and Anubhava (negative of existence and non-existence). Anything that stands the examination of these four is real and true others are false. Prajna is the totality of our knowledge, it is Śunyata. "Śunya is not negation of existence but the absolute which transcends human faculties". (H.P. Shastri, Adv. *Vajra. Sang.* Intro., p. XXIV).
Paramitas are the means of passing to Nirvāṇa—charity, morality, patience, energy, tranquil, contemplation, wisdom (prjña) made upto ten. Prajña carries men across the Sansara to the Shores of Nirvāña". (*Fa-hein*, Legge. p. 46).

sorrows.[56] These Dharnis evoked gods and goddesses. Tāra as the highest Buddhist deity is found in Mahapratyangira-Dharni. This Dharni has been discovered from Central Asia and is written in the Gupta characters of the 7th Century A.D. It was translated by the famous tantric teacher, Amoghavajra (704-774 A.D.).[57]

The earliest discovered Dharnis are the Gilgit manuscripts discovered in 1931 from a Stupa in Gilgit near Kashmir. They belong to the 5th and 6th Centuries A.D.[58] In early period Bodhisattva Avalokiteshwara was evoked in most of the Dharnis.[59]

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56. *Beal's Catena*, p. 284.
57. *The Age of Imp. Kanauj*. p. 262.
    Tāra is a Buddhist goddess. She is identified by the Napalese Buddhists with Prajna Parmita. In Tibet she is believed to be the mother of all the past Ththagatas or Buddhas. According to the Northern School of Tantric Buddhists, she is the wife of all the present, past and future Buddhas. She resembles the female energy or Shakti of the Indian Tantras. Her Tibetan name is Golma. A large number of Stotras attributed to her are regarded sacred. (Nariman, *History of Sanskrit Budd.*, p. 111 ;
    J.A.S.B., Vol. LIX, Part I, 1890, p. 53 ;
    Hem Chandar Banerji, *Theism in India*, 1869, p. 53).
58. *Gil. Mss.* (Ed. by N. Dutt), Vol. I, pp. 1, 2.
59. *The Age of Imp. Kanauj*, p. 261.
    Avalokiteshwara was a devotee of Buddha Vairochna. Avalokiteshwara's abode was Patalaka, a place somewhere in the South near Sridhanyakataka. In Karandavyūha 4th Century A.D., Avalokiteshwara was glorified as the first god to issue out of the primordial Buddha (Adibuddha-Adinatha-vajra) and to create the universe (N. Dutt, the Age of Imp. Kanauj, p. 261).
    Avalokiteshwara is the titulery diety of Tibet. At the end of the Tibetan Buddhist work 'kah-ghyur' are given several Dharnis. (Anal. of Kahghyur by H.H. Wilson, vide J.A.S.B., 1832, p. 390). This God's cult existed in India prior to 399 A.D. as Fa-hien when over taken by a storm from Ceylon to China prayed him (Winternitz, H.I L., p. 306).
    Avalokiteshwara (Avalokita + ishwara) *i.e.* lord sovereign who looks down with compassion *i.e.* on beings suffering in this world. When magical elements became prominent in Buddhism, Avalokiteshwara adopted many characteristics of Shiva. In some ways Manjuśri was Avalokiteshwara's equal in popularity (E. Conze, *Buddhism*, p. 147).

The idealist Boddhisattva philosophy did not exist before 3000 B.C. It was borrowed from Shiva, Vishnu and Vedanta.[60] The worship of goddess was borrowed by the Buddhists from Shiva and his spouse.[61]

Tantrism in Kashmir

The origin of magic Tantrism in Kashmir is obscure. But it seems that Shiva-Tantrism existed in the valley since the beginning of Shiva worship, as Kalhaṇa associates Tantrism in Kashmir with Shiva.[62] The earliest historical reference of Tantrism is perhaps found in Nilmata where the word 'Panchratra' is used. The whole of Nilmata does not refer to any Tantric practice.[63]

Somadeva (1063-1089 A.D.) in his Kathasarat Sagar writes that the dreadful forms of Shiva and Parvati were recognised as great deities of Kashmir. His stories depict gods and minor spirits mingling freely in ordinary life and the frequent human sacrifices.[64] Kalhaṇa too (12th Century A.D.) describes tantric practices,[65] men and women Tantric gurus,[66] and Matsyapapayaga (a complicated tantric sacrifice) where fish and cake are offered in connection with tantric sraddhas. This Yaga is still practised in Kashmir.[67]

Marco Polo (13th Century)[68] and Buhler (1877 A.D.)[69] connect Kashmir with devil charmers and vam-panthis respectively.

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60. Eliot, *Hindu & Budd.*, Vol. II, p. 72.
61. J. Woodruff, *Shakti and Shakta*, p. 9 ;
    R. Kimura, *Hina. & Maha. Budd.*, p. 36 ;
    Hindu & Budd., Vol. I, p. XXXVI.
62. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I. Intro , p. 8.
63. *Nīlamata*, V. 420. 'पंचरात्रविधानेन' ।
    Panchratra is a doctrine from where branched Shuddhāvaita (J. Woodruff, *Shakti and Shakta*, p. 6).
64. Keith, *H.S.L.*, pp. 284-285.
65. *Rajat.*, VI. vv. 11, 12.
66. *Rajat.*, VI v. 12 ; VII vv. 270, 280.
67. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, VI fn. 11.
68. *Marco Polo's Travels*, p. 59.
69. *Buhler's Report*, 1877, pp. 23-24.

It is worthy of note that the Buddhist Dhārnis have influenced the religions of Kashmir to a great extent. People of all faiths, Hindus and Muslims, Brahamanas and Sufis, all have faith in amulets, charms, spells and mantras which can save them from diseases, evil-spirits and the effect of bad stars. Not only this, it is their firm faith that these amulets and mantras can give them success in every sphere of life, e.g. success in business enterprises, in the examination, in love-making, etc.

Vaishnavism and Buddhism

The germs of Vaishnavism can be traced back to the Vedas.[70] The Nīlamata Purana gives a prominent place to Vaishnavism and writes about Vishnu.[71] It attaches so much importance to this faith as to make Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu.[72] This cult continued to flourish in Kashmir upto the 12th Century A.D.[73]. So, though the origin of Vaishnavism in Kashmir cannot be traced, it can safely be regarded as one of the oldest cults of the valley.

Bilhana[74] (11th Century A.D.) in his Vikramakdevcharitam worships Vishnu along with other gods and Kṣemendra[75] in the same century mentions his ten incarnations in Dashavtarcharitam.

Islam and Buddhism

Muslims made many efforts to reach Kashmir. In this effort Yaqub bin Layeth conquered Kabul and during the days of Caliphate of Walid, Arabas reached the borders of Kashmir.

70. *Rigved*, I, 156. 2, 3 ; I. 22.19 ; IV, 18.11 ; VIII. 89.12.
71. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese), vv. 60-65 ; 1206-1207.
72. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese), vv. 684-689.
73. *Rajat.*, III, vv. 144-158 ; 350, 351, IV, 6, 79, 81, 188, 193, 195, 202 etc. V. 394.
74. *Vikramank.*, I Canto.
75. *Dashavtarcharitam*, 1930, 9th Avtar, pp. 151-159.

But within six years its effect was lost.[76] In 711 A.D. Muhammad bin Qasim entered Sindh from the side of Sistan, and marched through the country of Gandhāra on his way back through the confines of Kashmir.[77] In 1014 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni made an attempt to enter Kashmir, but his efforts failed before the fort of Loharkot, which guarded the Toshmaidan Pass.[78] Yet there lived some Musalmans in Kashmir. Turkish soldiers were found in the days of Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.)[80] and king Bhikshuchara (1120-21 A.D.) employed Muslim soldiers to attack Sussala in Lohara.[81]

Kashmir showed the signs of internal decay from the beginning of the Lohara dynasty in 1003 A.D.[82] Kalhaṇa's book VII gives a picture of internal disorder, maladministration, jealousies of the princes and the court intrigues. By the time of Sinhadeva (1286-1301 A.D.) the defences of the country were neglected. This brought the foreign adventurers into the country. A Mongol chief of Turkistan, named Zulju now burst upon the country in 1320 A.D.[83]

76. Hitti, *History of Arabas*, p. 210 ;
M. Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 27-28.
77. *Alberuni's India*, p. 21.
78. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 108.
H.C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1214.
Vigne's Travels, Vol. II, p. 48.
Rajat., VII. vv. 47-69.
• Wolsely Haig, Camb. Hist. of India, Vol. III, p. 18 says Mahmud invaded Kashmir in 1015 and besieged Lohkot or Loharkot but due to reverse weather and unfamiliar highlands had to reverse. This was his first serious retreat. On p. 22, Haig adds that Mahmud tried to conquer Kashmir II time in 1019 or 21 but again failed at the gates of Loharkot.
Loharkot, it belonged to the territory of Punch and was situated in Lat. 33 .41 ; Long. 74 .23'. Persian Chronicle calls it Loharkot (Stein, M.A., *Rajat*, VII, fn.. vv 47-69, Stein, M.A., *Rajat*, VIII, fn. v. 884).
80. *Rajat.*, VII. v. 1149.
81. *Rajat.*, VIII. vv. 885-886 ;
Stein, M.A., Identifies Turuṣka with Muslims in fn. v. 885.
82. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., pp. 105-106,
83. H. Hassan, 93b-94b (quoted by M. Hasan *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 33).

Shah Mirza, a Muhammadan adventurer from Swat, who became the minister of Raja Sinha Dev in 1315, took advantage of the chaotic condition of the country, deposed queen Kota the widow of Udayana Deva, the last Hindu king, forcibly married her and became the first Muslim king of Kashmir in 1339 A.D. under the title of Shams-ud-Din Shah. Islam became the state religion from this time.[84]

The Effect of Buddhism on Islam

The Muslim rule could not wipe out the effects of Buddhism from the valley. On the other hand some Muslims respected Buddhism and were influenced by it.

Lalla, a Muslim mystic of Kashmir in the 14th century taught Yoga and Advaita learning,[85] and her Vakyani are not free from the effect of Buddhism.

Shiv or Keshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin.
These be names yet takest thou from me
All the ill that is my world within
He be thou or He or He or He.[86]

According to Dr. H. C. Ray, "The monastic strain and other features of Sufism such as the use of rosaries, the doctrine of fanā (Nirvaṇa) and the system of "Stations" (Māqāmāt) on

84. Stein. M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 130 ;
Vigne's Travels, Vol. II, p. 50 ;
W. Haig, *J.R.A.S.* 1918, p. 452 ;
W. Haig, *Cambridge History*, Vol, III, p. 277. But Mr. Haig opines that Shah Mir became the king in 1346 A.D. During Zulju's invasion Raja Suhadeva of Kashmir fled away to Kishatwar. His general Ram Chand returned to Kashmir with a refugee Rinchan from Tibet. Rinchan killed Ram Chand and seized the throne in 1324. He was converted to Islam by Bulbul Shah (Sufi. Kashmir. Vol. I, pp. 77. 116, M. Hasan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, pp. 33-38, *Ta-Huss.* (Ms). Vol. III, pp. 3-4).

85. *The word of Lalla*, Temple, p. 164 ;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 292.

86. *The word of Lalla*, temple, pp. 170-71. It is similar to the expression "I bow to the god of Karuna, be it soul or Shiva or Hari or Brahma or Buddha or Jina" (J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 32).

road thereto were borrowed from Buddhism and other schools of Indian thought."[87]

Sir Walter R. Lawrence, in the 19th Century writes: "Kashmiris are called by foreigners Pir Parast. All the veneration in the Kashmiri character comes out as the Musalman approaches a shrine. Lowly obeisance are made and with bare feet the Kashmiri draws near the doorway and smears his throat and body with the holy dust of the sacred precinets. None will dare pass a shrine on horse- back."[88]

Buddhists worship the relics of Buddha. This has been followed by the Muslims of the valley who worship Hazrat Bal where an hair of Hazrat Muhammad is kept. Dr. Arthur Neve is also of the opinion that the Kashmiri Muslim has "Transferred reverence from Hindu stones to Muslim relics."[89]

The ringing of a bell for collecting at a place of worship is a Buddhist custom according to Fa-hein.[90] The ringing of the bell is a call to prayer in several mosques of the valley today.[91]

Ahiṁsa is the main principle of Buddhism. Muslims of Kashmir even now abstain from meat on the anniversaries of some of their saints known as Rishis.[92] The Rishis are peculiar to Kashmir. They avoid meat, live on herbs roam in the jungles and do not mix with opposite sex.[93]

87. H.C. Ray. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, 1955, p 24.
88. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir.* 1895, p. 286.
89. Neve, *The Tourist Guide to Kashmir Ladakh and Skardu*, 1938, p. 103. Refer. fn. 108, Ch. VI of this thesis as well.
90. *Fa-hein*, Legge, 1886, p. 18
91. Sufi, G.M.D., Kashir, Vol. II, p. 688.
92. Vide Chapter IV of this thesis.
93. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. II, p. 164 ;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 287.

CHAPTER VI

MONUMENTS AND ARCHITECTURE

History of Architecture

Uptill today, no structural monument belonging to Pre-Christian Era has been discovered in Kashmir. The Harwan and Uṣkar structures are assigned to Kushan period.[1]

At Harwan the material used for the buildings is round pebbles and round boulders, while at Uṣkara the builders have used stone chips to their best advantage. The Harwan buildings are built in three styles Pebble style which is the earlist in date, followed by Diaper Pebble style dating about 300 A.D. and Diaper Rubble style dating abcut 5C0 A.D. and later.[2]

According to H. Goetz Harwan excavations represent local variety of Indo-Parthian style and Uṣkar represent earlier Gandhāra style.[3]

Probably Gupta art started infiltrating in 4th Century A.D. and even by 6th Century A.D. though king Pravarsena

1. R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monu.*, p. 50.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 50-51.
3. H. Goetz. *Marg* 1955 Vol. VIII. p. 65.

II adopted it, it was no more than superficial varnish over crude local architecture.[4] The Stūpas of Pandrethan depict degenerated provincial Gupta style.[5]

The medieval Kashmiri Art was born during the reign of king Lalitaditya. From the 6th Century to the 14th Century when the Muslim rule began in the valley, the Buddhists adhered to their old models though they used better material of beautiful grey limestone and elaborated the decorations to some extent.[6] Stūpa previously had ractangular plinth and single flight of steps. It was now elaborated into a square with one or more offsets on each side projecting far into the courtyard and flanked on either hand by side walls adorned with sculptured reliefs. The plinth in the larger buildings consisted of a double terrace, each comprising five courses of finely chiselled stone blocks of great size. The lowest course and the 4th course were plain, the 3rd was fashioned into a round torus moulding and the topmost into a filleted torus or cyma recta. "Nothing can be said about the external decorations of a drum of a Stūpa, as there has not been found an intact example of the type.[7]

The on sylurviving example of monasteries is the ruins of the Rajvihāra of Parihaspura. "It is a cellular quadrangle facing a rectangular courtyard." The cells had varandah in the front which probably was covered. There are flight of steps in the middle of one side, for enterance and exit. On this side the central cell served as the vestibule. On the opposite side, in the range of cells are spacious rooms, which may have been abbots' private apartments or a refectory. The walls were probably externally as well as internally plain. The roof probably was sloping and gabled like modern roofs in Kashmir.[8]

4. *Ibid.*, p. 65. The present remains of Ziarat of Pir Haji Mohammad and Baha-ud-Din make us reach this conclusion.
5. H. Goetz. *Marg Journ.* 1955. Vol. VIII, p. 67.
6. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 52.
7. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.* p. 52.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 148 ; Ref. further pages of this thesis as well.

The only surviving example of Chaitya or Buddhist temple is at Parihaspura. The square Chamber built on square base has a narrow corridor which served as circumambulatory path. It seems that there was some sort of screen held by four pillers at four corners of the sanctum. The external wall of the corridor is almost razed to ground, so it is difficult to say whether there were openings in it for the admission of light and air or not, which there were probably. "The portico was covered by a massive trefoil arch, which in its turn might have been surmounted by a pyrimental roof." The plan of the roof indicates that the roof of the shrine was probably pyramidal like that of contemporary Hindu temples.[9]

These ruins of Parihaspura belong to king Lalitaditya's time.[10] The general belief is that Lalitaditya's art decended from Gandhāra style. But H. Goetz believes that since Gandhāra art at that time was defunct, the development of the art under Lalitaditya was inspired by those buildings, which were still standing like Uṣkar Stupa (2nd to 5th Century A.D.) near Bārāmūlā and the giant statuette of Bamiyan (5th to 7th Century A.D.)[11]

With the development of Lalitaditya's empire Roman Architecture became prominent. The ruins of an unidentified Hindu or Buddhist temple, rebuilt by Zain-ul-Abdin as a musoleum for his mother belongs to this style.[12]

In the days of queen Didda 958-1003 A.D., as the public finances were in deplorable state, cheap material began to be used. Stone temples became rare and were superceded by wooden shrines. The only stone temple of queen Didda's time is that of Bhimakesāva at Bumzū (or Bumasur) above Martand and has been converted into a Muslim Ziarat, while wooden temples have all disappeared. However this type can be reconstructed from that of the Kashmiri mosques

9. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu* , p. 53.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
11. H. Goetz. *Marg. Journ.* 1955, Voi. VIII. pp. 65-67.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

which are mighty blockhouses with a vast hall in the interior and utterly different from the Muslim tradition, revealing all the vestiges of Hindu or Buddhist origin and to some degree also of the Lamaistic temples of Western Tibet, Spiti, and Ladakh.[13]

From 14th Century onwards, though the Hindu and Muslim buildings of the valley are affected much by Buddhist architecture,[14] the Mughal architecture especially the garden architecture presents the richest specimens.[15]

Many Hindu kings and private individuals of Kashmir are credited with building Buddhist stupas and Vihāras and other monuments, as a token of their respect for Buddhism, which flourished in the valley for about nine hundred years.

King Surendra founded in the neighbourhood of the Darad country a town called Saraka and built a vihāra called Narendrabhavana.[16] He built another Vihāra, called Saurasa, in his own country.[17]

King Janaka built a Vihāra and Agrahara of Jalora.[18]

Aśoka built a Chaitya and a Vihāra in the town of Vitastatra. The Vihāra is called 'Dharmaranya Vihāra.' The

13. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
14. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Moun.* p. 62 ; Sufi, Kashir. Vol. I. p. 38.
15. Nicholls. *A.S.R.* 1906-7 quoted by R C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.* p. 72 vide Ft. Note I.
16. *Rajat.*, I.V. 93. Neither the town nor the traces of Vihāra have been found with certainty. (Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I fn. I.v. 93, p. 17).
17. *Rajat.*, I.v. 94.
Saurasa Vihāra may have been in Suras village situated on Sangesfed (Chatskan) river. It is in the Nagam Pargana 74° .45′ long. 33° .54′ Lat. (Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I.v. 94, p. 17).
18. *Rajat.*, I.v.98.
Jalora. Pandit Govind Kaul identifies it with the village of Jolur. It is in Zainagir Paragana 74° .24′ Long. 34° .22′ Lat. Haider Malik places it in the Pargana of 'Vihu' *i.e.* Vihi. (Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I.v. 98, p. 18).

Chaitya within it was so high that it could not be reached by the eye. Aśoka is credited with adoring Vitastara and Suskaletra with numerous stūpas as well.[19] Four very high stupas of his time "each containing above a pint the bodily relics of Buddha" were noticed by Yuan-Chwang.[20] Stein could not find the remains of any of them.[21]

King Jaloka built Krityaśrama Vihāra.[22] Ou-Kong visited this Vihāra in 759-763 A. D. It is identified by Stein with 'monasters du mont Ki-tehe.' The name of the Vihāra survives in the name of the village Kitshom situated on the left bank of the Vitasta.[23]

Stein paid a visit to the village in 1896. He could locate the sculptured remains in the north of the village in an quadrangular enclosure of about 115 square yards. In the centre of quadrangle there was a raised mound outside, 15 ft. in height, which might have been the remains of a stūpa. During the Pathan rule a wall was constructed out of the stones of this plateau. It was seen by Mr. Baron Hugel also in 1835. The village Krityaśrama is most probably named after Kritya. Scanty remains are still there in Kitsahom village.[24]

Huṣka, Juṣka and Kanishka built mathas, chaityas and

19. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 102-104.
Vitastara. It is a small village named Vithavutur, at about one mile's distance from Verinag spring. It is situated in Shahbad Pargana 75° .16′ Long. 38° .33′ Lat. It is mentioned in *Rajat.*, VII. 364 & VIII. 1073. (Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I.v. 102).
Suskaletra is identified with the modern village Haklitri in the pargana of Dunts, 74° .42′ Long. 34° Lat. (Stein, M.A. *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I. v. 102).
20. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 261 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 189.
21. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I.v. 102, p. 19.
22. *Rajat.*, I.v. 147.
23. *Ou-Kong*, pp. 14-15, 18.
24. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I.v. 147, pp. 26-27 ;
Baron Hugel's Travels, p. 174.

similar structures at Suskaletra. King Juṣka built a vihāra at Juskapura or modern Zukur.[25]

King Meghavahana's queen Amritprabha built a stūpa at Loh, called Lo-Stompa. She built a lofty Vihāra called Amritbhavana for the benefit of foreign Bhikshus.[26] One of his queens Indradevi built Indradevibhavanvihāra and a stūpa, and another queen Yukadevi built a vihāra at Nadavana, half of which was occupied by Buddhist students and the other half by Buddhists with families.[27] His other queens built vihāras after their names, such as Khadaṇa and Samma.[28] The king himself built a monastery, named Meghamatha.[29]

Ou-Kong visited Amrithbhavanvihāra which he names as 'Ngo-mi-to-p's-wan.' The exact phonetic derivative of the name of the small village of Amrtabhavana is preserved in Anatābavan, now a small village, north of Srinagar. It is at three miles' distance from the city and close to the suburb of Vicarnāg.[30] Stein visited the town in 1895. He saw only a 20' high mound which resembled a stūpa and a tank-like depression. According to the villagers, large carved blocks of stones had been removed from this site for the construction of temples and other buildings.[31]

25. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 169-170 ;
Zūkur is a large village to the north of Srinagar nearly four miles from Hari Parbat (Stein, *Rajat.* I, Tr. ft. 168, p. 30).
26. *Rajat.*, III. vv. 9-10 ;
J.C. Dutt, *The Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 36.
Loh, Pandit Govind Kaul has identified Loh with Leh, the capital of Ladakh. It lies in Lat. 34° .2′ N. Long. 77° .5′ E. and has 11,500 ft. height. It is the meeting place of the carvans from Yārkānd and Sub-continent. (Stein, *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. III. v. 10, 73 ; M.B. Pithawalla. *Geology & Geography of Kashmir*, 1953, p. 108).
27. *Rajat.*, III. vv. 11-13.
J.C. Dutt., *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 36.
28. *Rajat.*, III. v. 14 ;
J.C. Dutt., *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 36.
29. J.C. Dutt., *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 36.
30. *Ou-Kong*, pp. 4, 12.
31. *Ou-Kong*, p. 12 ;
Stein, *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. III. v. 9, p. 73.

Stein locates Indradevibhavana Vihāra within the precincts of the present Srinagar. According to him it was built most probably close to Kathul or Kasthila of Kalhaṇa (VIII.v.1169).[32]

Stein identifies Nadana with the present quarter of Narvor situated in the North-West part of Srinagar. He found ample remains of ancient buildings in this part, but could not identify the Vihāra built by Yakadevi.[33]

The name of Khadanvihāra may possibly be preserved in the village of Khadniyar about four miles below Bārāmulā.[34] Here in 1908 Mr. Stein Konow discovered the ruins of a monastery.[35]

King Pravarsena II's maternal uncle Jayendra, as has already been said, built an illustrious Vihāra named 'Jayendra Vihāra' and erected therein a statue of Buddha.[36] This is the Che-ye-in-to-lo' monastery where Yuan-Chwang stayed on his arrival in the capital.[37] Kalhaṇa tells us that Jayendra Vihāra was burnt and its Buddha statue was melted by King Kṣemgupta. He used its brass for the construction of Kṣemagaurisvara temple.[38] In 1865 W.G. Cowie saw the remains of the foundations of a wall guards which enclosed a 90 yards square, having a small tope. At a little distance from the wall he found a heap of huge blocks which were the debris of an old temple. There was a small mound also. These ruins he took for Jayendra Vihāra.[39]

H. H. Cole has given the photo of a Buddhist tope near

32. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. III. v. 13, p. 74;
Kalhaṇa mentions this Vihāra, in *Rajat* VIII. v. 1172 also.
33. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*. Vol. I., fn. III. v. 11, pp. 73-74.
34. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I., fn. I.v. 14, p. 74.
35. *Epigraphic Indica.*, Vol. IX, pp. 300-302.
36. *Rajat.*, III. v. 355;
J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 53.
37. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 259.
38. *Rajat.*, VI. W. 171-173.
39. W.G. Cowie, *Temples of Kashmir*, vide *J.A.S.B.*, 1866 Part I, Vol. 35, p. 123.

Bārāmulā, including the ruins of Jayendra Vihāra. Accordingly Shri Cole has mentioned the tradition of its being of king Pravarsena's time (500 A.D.)[40]

Yodhisthira II's ministers Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta built Vihāras, chaityas and other buildings. His minister Yajrendra constructed Chaityas and other sacred buildings at Bhavaccheda.[41]

Ou-Kong has mentioned 'Monastere-de-je-Je' which Stein thinks is perhaps the Vihāra constructed by Jaya.[42]

The Vihāra built by Skandagupta was known Skandabhavanavihāra, It has left its name, Khandabavan, to a quarter of Srinagar, on the right bank of the river between Nau-Kadal or Sixth bridge and the 'Idgah' on the western side of the city. Stein visited the site in 1891 and found the traditions of an old temple alive. This has been an object of great sanctity and actual worship. Even now people have faith in it.[43]

As has been already said King Ranaditya's wife Amritprabha installed a fine statue of Buddha in the Vihāra built by Meghavahana's wife Bhinna.[44] King Vikramaditya's minister Brahmana built Brahamana matha and another minister Galuna built a Vihāra after the name of his wife Ratnavali.[45]

The queen of Durlabhavardhana (600-636 A.D.) built a

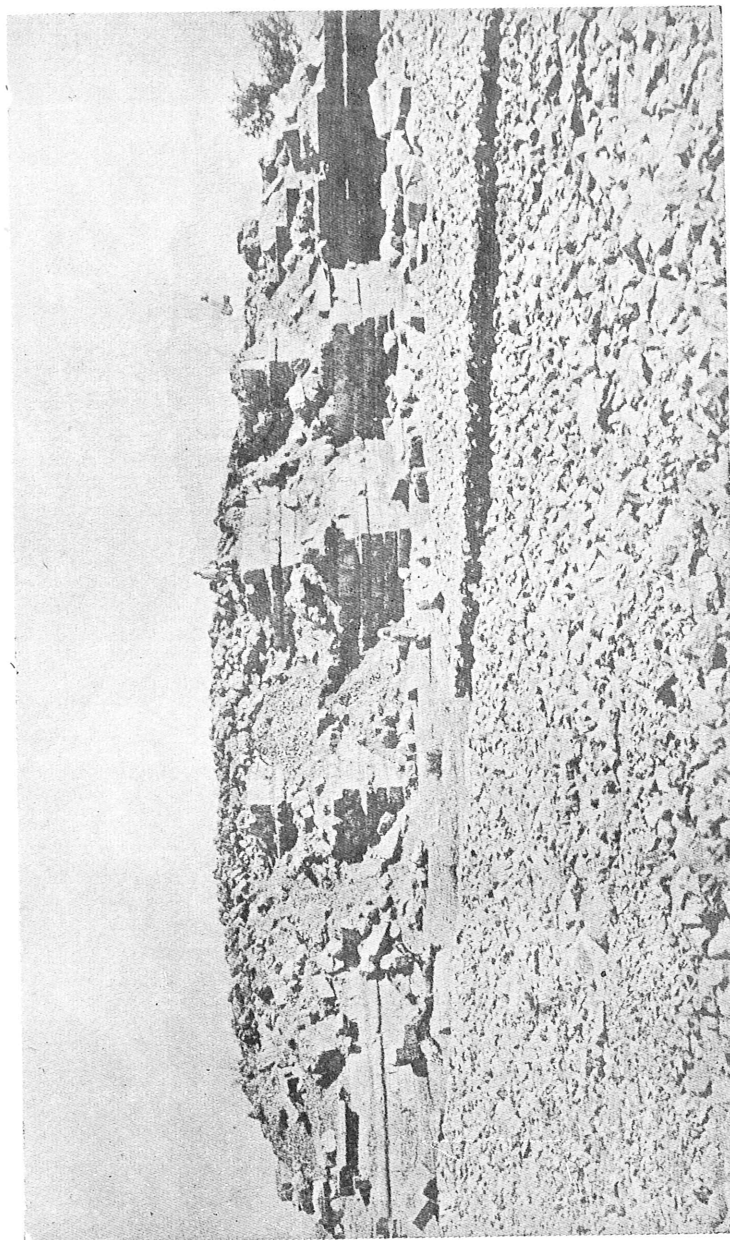
40. H.H. Cole, *Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, 1869.
41. *Rajat.*, III. vv. 380-381.
Bhavaccheda. Stein identifies it with the modern village of Buts. It is situated in the Vular Pargana. C. 70° .9′ Long. 33° .54′ Lat. (Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn., III. v. 391, p. 106).
42. *Ou-Kong*, pp. 13-19.
43 Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. II, Appendix K, pp. 339-340.
44. *Rajat.*, III. v. 464.
45. *Rajat.*, III. v. 476.

monastery named Anangabhavana, Stein identifies it with Ou-Ḱong's Ngo-Namli.[46] In (686-695 A.D.) King Chandrapida's wife Praksha Devi founded Prakash Vihāra.[47]

Lalitaditya (699-736 A.D.) immortalised himself by building numerous shrines in the valley. Prominent among these are the Vihāra of Kridrama, the celebrated Rajavihāra with a large quadrangle (Catuhśala), a large Chaitya with a magnificient image of Buddha at Parihaspura, the splendid shrine of Vishnu Muktasvamin and a large Vihāra and stūpa at Huṣkhpura.[48] His minister Kayya built famous Kayyavihāra where Bhikshu Sarvajnamitra who had attained the purity of Buddha[49] had lived. His minister Caṅkuna built Caṅkunavihara and erected a lofty stūpa, a beautiful Vihāra together with a chaitya and adorned the vihāra with a golden image of Buddha. His (Caṅkuna's) son-in-law Iśāna Chandra also built a Vihāra. Caṅkunavihara[50] in Parihaspura was extant in Kalhaṇa's time. It was repaired during the reign of King Jayasiṁha (1128-1154 A.D.) by his minister Rilhaṇa's wife Sussala.[51]

Yuan-Chwang on his way to the capital spent one night at Huṣkara Vihāra.[52] Ou-Ḱong (759-763 A.D.) stayed in Kashmir for four years. Huṣkapura Vihāra, identified by Stein with Moungti-vihāra, was probably his first resting place.[53]

46. J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 61 ;
Rajat., IV. v. 3 ;
Ou-Ḱong, p. 19 ;
T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chrono. Chart of the History of Kashmir.*, p. 12-13.
47. *Rajat.*, IV. v. 79 ;
T.N. Khazanchi, *The Chrono. Chart of the History of Kashmir*, p. 12-13.
48. *Rajat.*, IV. vv, 184, 188, 200, 204, 210 ;
J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, pp. 71-72.
49. *Rajat.*, IV. v. 210 ;
J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 72.
50. *Rcjat.*, IV. vv. 211, 215, 216, 262 ;
J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, pp. 72-73.
51. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 2415.
52. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 258.
53. *Ou-Ḱong*, pp. 3, 5, 8 ;
Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 92.



Basement of Stupa at Parihasapura

Huṣkapura stūpa is perhaps the same which W.G. Cowie found intact in 1866.[54] H.H. Cole gives a photograph of this stupa (1869).[55] Steined it visit in 1892 and found scanty remains. It seems it was excavated by Mr. Garrick in 1882.[56]

Stein found another colossal monument of linga shape about 10 ft. high standing on an eminence between Uṣkar and Bārāmūlā. Traces of a wall were found in the neighbouring fields[57].

In 1908 Stein Konow noticed the ruins of a Stūpa at a distance of 400 yards to the west of Uṣkar (Hushkarpura).[58] At present nothing but the base of a stūpa and a part of enclosure-wall are intact, the rest of the structures are decayed and destroyed.

The Parihaspura Stūpa

Daya Ram Sahani, who excavated the Buddhist structures at Huṣkapura, Parihaspura and Pandrethan in 1915-1916, says that Parihaspura is a plateau with ruins on Shadipur and Bārāmulā road.[59] The Stūpa found here is identified by him with the Stūpa erected by Caṅkuna, the Tukhara minister of Lalitaditya. Though in 1915-16 the remains were few fragments, the stūpa had a double platform and two passages one above the other for the pilgrims to go round the shrine; and square basement with single projection on each side with stairways in the middle of these projections. The steps of these stairs were ruined, but the flank walls fairly preserved.[60] The

54. W.G. Cowie, *Temples of Kashmir*, vide *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, Vol. 35, p. 123.
55. H.H. Cole, *Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, 1869.
56. Stein, M.A , *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. IV. v. 188, p. 140 ;
Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 162 ; A.S.R., 1915-16 ; D.R. Sahani, pp. 61-62.
It corresponds to the Parihaspura stūpa surrounded by a wall. (S.C. Ray, Early Hist. & Cul. of Kashmir, p. 199). Lalitaditya built the second stūpa over the ruins of a stūpa built by Huṣka (N. Dutt, *Gil. Mss.*, Vol. I, p. 40).
57. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. IV. v. 188, p. 140.
58. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16 ; D.R. Sabani, p. 50.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

drum of the stūpa seemed to have contained the figures of Buddha and Boddhisattva. In 1923 R.C. Kak could not see any designs on the stūpa.[61] One complete Buddha was found here which resembled the Gupta and medieval sculptures of Sārnāth.[62]

The Parihaspur Chaitya

D.R. Sahani identifies it with King Lalitaditya's Chaitya.[63] According to R.C. Kak's researches, this was the only surviving example of Buddhist Chaitya in 1923.[64] It is erected on a square base and is surrounded by a pradakshina (circumambulatory passage). The square chamber must have been supported on four stone conlumns of which only the base has survived.[65] The inner chamber contains a single block of stone, 14′ x 21′ ; 6′ x 5′. 2″ upon which rested the image. It is just possible that the copper image of Buddha erected by Lalitaditya, which escaped destruction at the hands of Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) was worshipped in this chappel.[56] In this chaitya Śahani found several carved syllables, 'Caṅku' and 'Chanana' in Śārada script. He assumed that they referred to Chamku (Cankuna), Lalitaditya's Tukhara minister.[67]

The Parihaspura Vihāra

It is a quadrangle (Chatushala) with an open court-yard and has 26 cells all round with a verandah supported on columns. It has an opening to the east with steps. The cells in ruins with foundations only, were seen by Sahani (1915-

61. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60 ;
R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 52.
62. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60.
63. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60.
64. R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 53.
65. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60;
R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 53. The ruins which Kak saw are still extant and the big stone is still intact (1966).
66. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60 ;
Rajat., VII. vv. 1092, 1093, 1097-98.
67. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 61.

16) and R.C. Kak (1923).[68] Sahani discovered an earthen vessel in its varandah which contained 44 silver coins belonging to Durlabhadeva, Lalitaditya-Muktapida's grandfather and Jayapeda-Vinayāditya, grandson of Lalitaditya. The walls on the eastern and western sides indicate clearly the repairs done at a subsequent time.[69]

Some of the Buddhist stupas seem to have been relic-towers. Sikander the idol breaker (1389-1410 A.D.) is said to have discovered a vase containing scme liquid, and an engraved copper plate at Parihaspura. The inscription of the plate could not be deciphered.[70]

Jayapida (751-782 A.D .) built a large Vihāra and set up three images of Buddha.[71]

Uccala (1101-11 A.D.)'s queen Jayamati, as has already been said, built one Vihāra and one Matha.[72] The king laid the foundation of a Vihāra in honour of his sister, Sulla. This Sullavihāra was completed by Jaya simha in 1128-49 A.D.[73]

Yayasiṁha (1128-54 A.D.) as has already been said, a large number of Vihāras were built during his time, by him, his queens and ministers. Hadigrama was burnt during some disturbances in the reign of Jayasiṁha.[74]

In 1908 Mr. Stein Konow discovered a stone inscription from a Brahamana's house at Arigam (Hadi-grama in Sanskrit). The inscription comprises five lines in Śarda script. It is

68. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60.
R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, pp. 52-53, 148.
69. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 60 ;
R.C. Kak. *Anc. Moun.*, p. 148.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
71. *Rajat.*, IV. v. 507 ;
72. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 246.
73. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 3318.
74. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 1586.
Hadigrama is the present Ārigom in the pargana of Nagam 14°. 45′ Long. 33° .56′ Lat. (Stein, M.A., fn. I v. 340, p. 50).

engraved on a well polished square block of greyish stone. On the top of the block is a slightly convex circular disc enclosed within a square diagram. The top of the block with convex outline is highly polished and was obviously intended to remain exposed to view without being superposed by any other architectural member.

The epigraph opens with salutations to the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, then it records that the first Vihāra which was built by Vedyella Deva, being a wooden structure was consumed by conflagration. Then Ramdeva, son of Kulladeva and grandson of Vedyalla Deva built another solid Vihāra of brick masonary in place of the wooden one consumed by fire. The date of the brick Vihāra is given as Laukika Samvat 73, 5th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśrsha month which roughly corresponds to 12 and 13 A.D. The structure was raised in honour of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, lord of the universe (Lokanatha). On the basis of this inscription Sten Konow concludes that Buddhism was still lingering in the valley in the 12th and 13th centuries. He (Sten Konow) also traces in this inscription the references made by Kalhaṇa to the burning of Hādigrama in the reign of Jayasiṁha (Rajat VIII. v. 1586)[75] before Sten Konow Pandit Kashi Ram in 1891 also traced the ruins of some temples in Hādigrama.[76]

The Pandrathan Stūpas

Upon the hill at about half-a-mile's distance from Pandrethan temple, R.C. Kak has revealed two Buddhist stupas and the courtyard of a monastery. The only remains are the scattered ruins in the shape of innumerable mounds, found extant on the slope of the mountain from Panchhok to

75. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX. pp. 300-302
(1) नमो भगवते ग्रार्यावलोकितेश्वराय ।।
त्रै लोक्यालोकभूताय लोका ।लो ।
(2) (ल) (सू) भवच्छिदे (१) जगदानन्दचन्द्राय लोकनाथय ते नम· ।।
76. Stein, M.A., *Rajat.*, Vol. I, fn. I. v. 340, p. 50.

Sankaracharya hill.[77] The level terraces which may have been fields, are full of mounds of stone rubble.[78] The only worth mentioning fragments, which are dated 7th Century A.D. by R.C. Kak, are a few pieces of sculpture,[79] (1) the drum of a stūpa (A of the Archaeolcgical department), (2) a large size (6′ .7″) standing Buddha,[80] (3) Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (5′ .4½″),[81] and (4) Lumbini scene,[82] now kept in the Srinagar Museum, Kashmir.

D.R. Sahani discovered small hemispheric objects of stone, presumably small model stūpas, from the stūpas of Pandrethan.[83] In 1835 A.D. Baron Hugel visited the Buddhist temple at Pandrethan and saw some Buddhist figures in its interior.[84]

The Malangpura Stūpa was first noticed by Mr. Vogel between Avantipur and Payer in 1932. "All that remains of it is the square basement with a double feature of the Buddhist monument, the decoration of sculptured reliefs on the outer surface of the walls by which the stairs are enclosed." The sculptured relief depicts, "a furious monster pursuing a man, who is flying precipitately before it."[85]

Harwan

Pandit R.C. Kak's excavations have led to many useful

77. R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, pp. 114-115.
Pandrethan is nearly three miles above Srinagar.
78. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 61.
79. R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 115.
80. R.C. Kak, *Hand Book*, p. 33 ;
A.S.R., 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 61.
81. R.C. Kak, *Hand Book*, A a. 11 ; p. 28.
82. R.C. Kak, *Hand Book*, p. 38 ;
A.S.R., 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 61.
83. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 52.
84. *Baron Hugel's Travels*, pp. 124, 173.
85. Vogel, *Annual Bibliography of the Indian Archaeology* for the year 1933, Vol. VIII, p. 22 ;
R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 125 ;
A.S.R., 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 50
I visited the scene in August 1967 and found the ruins extant.

discoveries at Harwan. He discovered here : (1) The triple base of a medium sized stūpa in the middle of a rectangular courtyard facing North. On one side of the Stūpa or on the first terrace of the plinth was a 'lion' column. It had 'ye dharma' etc. the Buddhist creed stamped in relief in Brahmi script of (4 A.D.) below the representation of the Stūpa on the plaque. (2) A set of rooms which might have been used as chappels or residences. (3) A large apisdal temple with a square front and circular back built in diaper pebble style. Though no image has been found here but the pavement of a courtyard round the temple with moulded brick-tiles of various shapes and patterns was discovered. The most famous pattern seems to be of large disc consisting of concentric circles with a single central piece, each stamped with a motif. The principle motifs are of frets, wavy lines, fish-bone pattrons, conventional flowers, and flower designs of different combination of leaves of lotus plant and aquatic plant common in Dal Lake ; geese running or flying in rows with flower petals or leaves in their bills, rams fighting, cock-fighting, deer looking with head turned backwards at moon, archers on horse back chasing deer and shooting arrows, a lady carrying a flower vase, a dancing girl, a female musician beating a drum, men and women conversing and boys carrying floral festoon on their shoulders.[86] The striking feature of the human figures on the tiles is that the head is invariably shown in profile and the body facing front. These are perhaps the only remains of their kind in India which supply life-like representation of Kushans.[87]

Though all these pieces are fragmentary, and all of them bear figures, but no group of adjacent pieces complete a motif. Flat tiles may have formed a part of a pavement, a few of

86. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, pp. 106-109.
The dimensions of the tile pavement round the apisdal temple are 160′ by 124′ .6″ (R.C. Kak. Anc. Monu. p. 111)
The two walls adjacent to the Stūpa and Chapel indicate that there were other buildings also in quite a different style. No trace of them has come to light. The walls are made of mud and pebbles of 1″ to 2″ in diameter and R.C. Kak names them 'Pebble Style' R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 107.

87. *Ibid.*, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 111.

which bear moulding in relief could only have belonged to walls. On the basis of these arguments Pandit R.C. Kak concludes that the tiles were transplanted here from earlier structure which had fallen in use.[88] Moreover the tiles have not been found on the pavement only. A few moulded tiles belonging to the facade have also been discovered. A long platform at the back of the courtyard also bears such tile-work decorations.[89] They might have been prepared with a view to present Jātaka scenes or certain scenes from Buddha's life.[90] Shri Kak believes that as Kanishka is said to have convened his Buddhist Council here and Nagarjuna the great Buddhist Patriarch also is said to have resided here, it is just possible that some prosperous Kushan built this shrine. Further he thinks that the builder in order to show his humility and religious merit got his own and his wife's face stamped on the tiles, so that the commonest people may tread them.[91] Each tile has a number in Kharoshti language.

(4) A flight of steps which connect Stūpa and the chapel[92].

(5) Antiquities containing a large number of broken fingers and toes of terra cotta figures.[93]

(6) Terra cotta curls belonging to the images of Buddha and a few 'votive tablets' bearing the relief miniature Stupas. The Stupa depicted on the tablets has triple base and three flights as are found in the existing Stūpa at Harwan.[94]

R.C. Kak dates the tiles (3 A.D.) on the basis of

88. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 106.
89. R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, pp. 109-110.
90. N. Dutt, *Gil. Mss.*, Vol. I. 40.
Note. The Photoes of a miniature Stupa and emaciated monk from Harwan tiles are attached herewith and referred to under Sculpture of VII Chapter.
91. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 110.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Kharoshti numerals and diaper pebbles.[95] He dates the pebble style to the earliest date of Kushans, following the diaper pebble style to 300 A.D. and then the rubble style to 500 A.D.[96]

At present here only a portion of the pebble walls, a part of the apsidal stūpa, triple base of a stūpa and the basis of a few cells of the monastery are intact, while their superstructures have tumbled down. There remain a few tiles of the floor as well which bear different motiff.

Gilgit Manuscripts

The latest Archaeological discovery is that of many manuscripts deposited in a stūpa at Gilgit. These were first brought to notice by Stein. These have recently been edited by Dr. N. Dutt and published by Maharaja Harisingh in 1939.[97]

All the Buddhist monuments of Kashmir, except Parihaspura Chaitya which has no apse (an unfailing pecularity of the Indian Chapels) are the imitations of their prototype in other parts of India.[98]

The Buddhist monuments mentioned by Kalhaṇa have been noticed by many pilgrims and travellers to Kashmir. Watters believes that there were many more Buddhist monastries in Kashmir in Yuan-Chwang's time than are mentioned by him in his travels, for these other shrines have been referred

95. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
Diaper Pebble Style. A large smooth-faced irregularly shaped boulders placed at intervals of 6″ to 18″ apart and intervals filled with small round or oval pebbles of 1″ to 2″ in diameter (R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 107).
Diaper Rubble Style. A large number of boulders placed in one row and intervening space between each pair filled with small stones. (R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 106).
97. N. Dutt., *Gil. Mss.*, Vol. I, p. 40.
98. *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 52.

to by other pilgrims.[99] This Chinese pilgrim (Yuan-Chwang) found one hundred Buddhist monasteries and about 5000 priests in the capital.[100] He has described seven monasteries of the valley.[101] Watters writes that another pilgrim Suan Hui visited the valley and saw Dragon-Tank Mountain monastery, where lived 500 Arhats. Yuan-Chwang does not seem to know about it. Some of the Vihāras mentioned in Wu-Kung's Itine are of Yuan-Chwang's time, while others are much older.[102]

Another Chinese pilgrim Ou-Ḱong (8th Century A.D.) found 300 monasteries and a large number of stupas and sacred images in Kashmir.[103] He named eight Buddhist establishments besides Moung-ti-vihāra where he stayed. Out of them Ye-li-te-le Ko toen, Ananga or Anandabhavana and Nao-ye-le, have not been identified by Stein.[104] This shows that there was a considerable rise in the popularity of Buddhism, during the period that intervened between the travels of Yuan-Chwang and Ou-Ḱong. This agrees with Kalhaṇa's statement that numerous Vihāras were built in the reign of Lalitaditya.[105] Marco Polo (13th Century A.D.) writes, that there were numerous monasteries and abbeys in Kashmir where residents led religious life.[106]

The Shankaracharya Temple

It is built on a high octagonal plinth. It has a terrace surrounded by a $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high stone-wall or parapet, 23′ 6″ long on each side. To reach the terrace there are three flights of stone-steps numbering six, seven and eighteen. The eighteen steps are encased in two walls. From the terrace another flight

99. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 282.
100. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 261 ;
Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 189.
101. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, pp. 279-282.
102. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 283.
103. *Ou-Ḱong*, p. 21.
104. *Ou-Ḱong*, pp. 3, 4, 15, 18.
105. *Ou-Ḱong*, p. 2 ;
Rajat.. IV. vv. 200, 215, 216.
106. *Marco Polo's Travels*, p. 60.

of ten steps leads to the door of the temple. The interior of the temple is a chamber, circular inside with a diameter of 13′ 2″. The ceiling of the sanctum is flat and 11 ft. high. It is made of flat stone slabs and wooden boards which rest on two lintels of the same material and are supported by four octagonal limestone pillars in the centre of the room.

The Maharaja of Mysore who visited Kashmir nearly twenty-two years back, got five electric search lights erected around it, along with one light on the top of the temple. The electric charges of these lights are met with from the interest of an endowment made by him.[107]

Nowadays (1972) a jeepable road from Dal Lake side has been constructed to reach Shankaracharya temple.

This is the oldest temple of the valley on the Sandimana Parvata (now called Takhat-i-Sulaiman). According to tradition this name was given by Sikandar the iconoclast. Mr. Lawrence was told by a yellow Lama from Ladakh, that it was sacred to the Buddhists and they knew it as Pus-Pahari.[108] According to the local tradition it was built in the 3rd century B.C. by Aśoka's son Jaloka.[109] Vigne and Abul Fazl identify it with Kalhaṇa's shrine of Shiva Jeyeṣtheṣvara on the Gopadari, built by King Gopaditya in 370 B.C.[110] Cunnigham assumes that the temple of Jeyeṣtheṣvara might have been repaired and rebuilt by Gopaditya, who might have imposed his name upon the hill.[111] The South-West columns of the

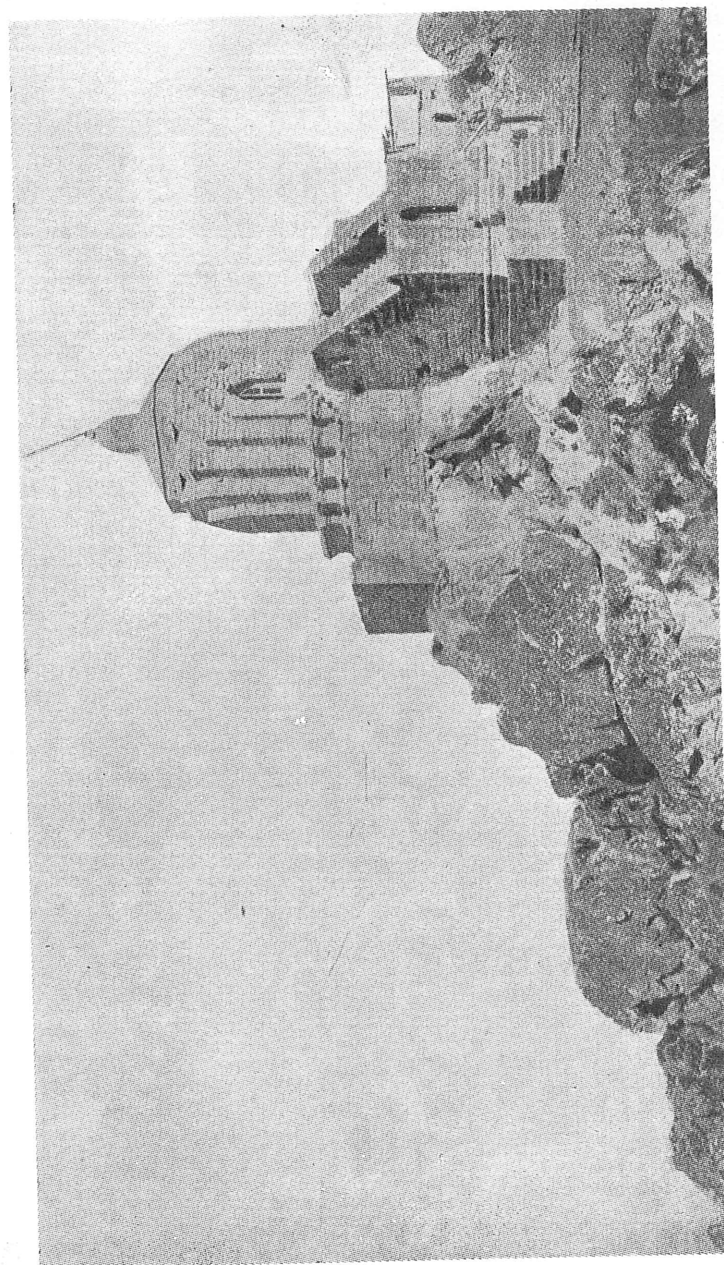
107. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 74 ;
A. Kaul. Remains in Kash., pp. 17-22.

108. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 297 and fn. 2.
Shri Kushak Bakaula told me it has no such importance for the Ladakhis at present. They simply go to see it as sacred place of the Hindus.

109. *Census Report*, 1891 ;
Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, 1924, p. 110 ;
Cunningham, *J.A.S.B.*, Part II, 1848, pp. 247-51.

110. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 380 ;
Ain-i-Akbari. Vol. II, p. 383 ;
Rajat., I. v. 341.

111. Cunningham, *An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture* 1848, p. 9.



Shankaracharya Temple

temple bear Persian inscription with a date, 1054 A.H., which corresponds to 1644 A.D., i.e., Shahjehan's time. It is obvious that the ceiling with its columns was erected in the time of that king. Daya Ram Sahani identifies the ceiling of the temple with Lalitaditya's temple of Jyeṣtheṣa. Stein, Furgussan and D. R. Sahani agree that the circular Cella was due to Muhammaden repairs,[112] while Cole and Cunnigham believe that it is the earliest building in Kashmir.[113] Prof. Būhler says that there is no genuine tradition regarding its erection amongst Brahamanas, and the name of the builder is yet to be discovered.[114]

The Luduv temple, situated at sixteen miles distance South-East of Srinagar, is one of the oldest examples of Rudresa temple. It resembles the Vihāra of Guniyar in Gāndhāra, in the Swat valley of the Frontier province, built in the 5th century A.D. the Luduv temple may have been built two centuries later. Percy Brown finds the next stage of development and imitation of this art in Shankaracharya temple. He further adds that the pediment of arch motif's further development can be seen in the temple of Narastan, at 30 miles distance to the South-West of Srinagar, "where the flat offsets have been elaborated into moulded niches with triangular canopies and the sunk trefoil (arch introduced.)"[115]

The Luduv temple is the development of the art of Guniyar Vihāra of Gandhāra, and the Shankaracharya art is the next stage in its evolution. Its ceiling resembles Lalitaditya's temple. It may be presumed that it is the development of Guniyar Vihāra style and belongs to Lalitaditya's time.

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112. Stein, *Anc. Geog.*, p. 158 ;
Furgussan, *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, 1891, p. 282 ;
A.S.R., 1915-1916 ; D.R. Sahani, p. 72 ;
Cole, *Ancient Buildings of Kashmir*, says Persian inscription A.H. 1069 is identical with 1659 A.D.
113. H.H. Cole, *Ancient Buildings of Kashmir*, p. 7 ;
Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, 1924, p. 110.
114. *Būhler's Report*, p. 17.
115. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 191.

Impact of Buddhism upon Architecture

The Hindu Architecture of Kashmir is influenced by Grecien Art.[116] Vigne believes that the difference between the Kashmiri and Roman buildings is one of Hindu character. Hindus are the imitators of Romans rather than Grecian the imitators of the Romans.[117] It has three characteristic features :[118]

(1) "The recess or niche composed of trefoil (arch) within a high pitched triangular pediment", or the 'trefoiled doorways covered by pyramidal pediments'.

(2) The lofty pyramidal roofs.

(3) The construction of variety of fluted pillars and great width of space between columns.

1. The arch of trefoil is derived from the trefoiled cell or Gandhāra stupa court. But "the real origin of the trefoil motif is to be found in the conventional shape produced by the chaitya arch with its side aisle, a combination forming the facade of the early rock-cut temples of Buddhist India."[119] Furgussan holds that trefoiled arch is not from foreign style, but is derived from the facades of Chaitya halls of the Buddhists.[120] The example of square trefoil is found in the temples of Ellora.[121] Mr. Havell, on the other hand, believes that the trefoil arch has its origin in ancient Indian symbolism and is a compound aureole, or nimbus, made up of a combination of the lotus and pipal or banyan leaf. He believes that the trefoil arch of the Graeco-Roman artists of Gandhāra is only

116. *Imperial Gazetter*, Vol. XV, p. 97 ;
A.S.R., 1915-16 ; D.R. Sahani, p. 57.
117. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, p. 401.
118. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 190 ;
Imperial Gazetter, Vol. XV, p. 97.
119. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 190.
120. Furgussan, *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 285.
121. *Vigne's Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 400-401.

a late imitation of the early Indian prototype which should be sought for in Magadha.[122]

2. The second characteristic formation in the design of Kashmir temple of pyramidal roofs is due to heavy snowfall in winter.[123]

3. The third element of medieval temple, the pillar, is the keynote of the (Kashmir architecture) style. The Kashmir example and the Doric order of the Romans resemble much if compared.[121]

There has been considerable Buddhist influence on the buildings of Kashmir temples, mosques, etc.

The figures of Atlants, similar to Gandhāra art, found on the front of the stair-walls, are a noteworthy feature of Buddhist structure of Kashmir. The figures of Atlants of the Buddhists art have been replaced in the Brahamanical temples of Kashmir by Vaishnava and Shaiva scenes.[125] According to R.C. Kak, a Hindu temple in broad out-lines is "a Chaitya built in the middle of a monastic court-yard."[126] Percy Brown believes that the Brahamanical temple in Kashmir seems to have imitated the character and arrangement of the stupa-courts of the Buddhist monasteries of Gāndhāra.[127]

Most of the Muslim shrines of the valley resemble Buddhist pagodas in outline, though their details are Saracenic.[128] The shrine of Baba-Pa-Imam Din Rishi (Commonly known as Baba Marishi) near Gulmarg owes for its design to aboriginal Hindu style and its final resembles one of the spires on the Buddhist Chodtens in Ladakh.[129]

122. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 74-100 ;
A.S.R., 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 2.
123. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 120.
124. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 190.
125. *A.S.R.* 1915-16, D.R. Sahani, p. 53.
126. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 62.
127. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 190.
128. Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol. I, p. 38.
129. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 290.

As mentioned by Yuan-Chwang Buddhists constructed relic stūpas in Kashmir as well. Tooth-monastery and tooth stupa attached to Jayendra monastery,[130] and the stupa constructed by Kanishka enclosing copper-sheets having the commenta:y of three pitakas engraved upon them, are worth mentioning.[131] According to Sufi Muhammadens imitated this relic worship custom and enshrined the prophet's hair at Hazrat Bal. Khwaja Nur-u-din Ishbari brought this hair from Bijapur in 1698.[132]

Muhammaden Buildings on Buddhist Plinth

One important factor responsible for a marked resemblance between the Buddhist and Muslim shrines is the fact that many Muslim shrines in Kashmir were built on the site of Buddhist sacred buildings and in many cases out of the material of these buildings. Sultan Sikandar's tomb is probably erected on the plinth of a Buddhist or Brahamanical temple.[133] Zain-ul-Abdin's mother's tomb in Srinagar was originally a Hindu or Buddhist shrine. Its Muslim architect does not seem to have tampered with his art, as it is built on the lines laid down by his Hindu predecessor.[134]

130. Watters' *Yuan-Ch*,, Vol. I, pp. 279-80.
Harsha forcibly took a 'tooth-relic' of Buddha from Kashmir and enshrined that in a Sanghārāma in Kanauj (S. Beal, Life of *Yuan-Ch.*, pp. 181, 183 quoted by R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanouj*, p. 165).
131. Vide Chapter III of this thesis.
132. Sufii, *Kashir.*, Vol. I, p. 55.
Hazrat Bal shrine is situated on the Dal Lake shores on the site of one of the early Mughal gardens. It was built in Shahjahan's time (Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. II, p. 519).
The Buddhist worship of relics though crept in India's Islam is no where so prominent as in Kashmir. Hazrat Bal is an outstanding instance (Modern India and the West, Edited by O' Malley 1941, p. 391 quoted by Sufi, Kashir., Vol. I, p. 688).
133. Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. II, p. 506.
134. R.C. Kak. *Anc. Monu.*, p. 70 ;
Marg, Journal, March 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 68 ;
H.H. Cole, *Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, 1869 ;
Cole dates it 400-500 A.D.

The Jama Masjid of Srinagar stands on a spot which was sacred to the Buddhists, and Buddhist from Ladakh visited the site. Sometimes it was called by its old name Tsitung Tsublack Kang,[135] otherwise it is known to the Tibetans as Bodo Masjid and not Jama Masjid. A.H. Frank in his 'Tibetan Notes' states that it was formerly a Buddhist temple. As stated by him the pictures of Buddhist saints could be seen behind the white-wash on the walls.[136] Even now Buddhists from Ladakh pay their homage and offer salutations to the wall-paintings which are decayed and have become invisible. According to tradition during the days of 'Tsitsung Tsublack Kang,' nearly ten thousand monks used to gather here and offer their salutations to the paintings of Buddha. It is still sacred to the Buddhists.[137]

At about twenty miles from Srinagar there is a Gumpha, at present in a decayed condition. It is said to have been the cave of 'Tsitsung Naropa.' Even now Ladakhis visit it and regard it sacred.[138]

135. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 290
136. The Indian Antiquary Vol. 37, July 1898, pp. 192-93 ;
Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. II, p. 512.
Bhod or Bhot or Bod is the name by which Tibetans call their country (Hem Chandar Bannerji, *Brahmo Theism in India*, p. 52).
137. The present writer is indebted to Shri Kushak
and
138. Bakaula for this information.

CHAPTER VII

SCULPTURE

Buddhism preached by Buddha dispensed with the deities of Brahamanas. But just after his Pari-Nirvāṇa, deification started, first with symbolics like Stūpas and Triśarnas, or three jewels which later on were represented in human forms.[1] With the growth of Mahāyānā, Buddha was elevated to the rank of God and below him were a number of Boddhisattvas and beings who were yet to pass through one stage or birth before they attained perfect enlightenment.[2] To perpetuate Buddha's memory, his desciples first adopted the method of preserving

1. *Vastu-Ś˜stra* Vol. II vide *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 19.
   Nirvāṇa means "The state of blown-out flames" Hence the extinction of three chief fires Raga (lust), Dvesha (ill-will) and Moha (delusion) and total cessation of all evil passion and desires. In short it is Arhatship. Pari-Nirvāṇa is "The entire cessation of rebirths, with extinction of all the elements or seeds of bodily existence". M. Williams. *Buddhism*, pp. 139-140.
   Triad of Buddha, Dharma (Law), Saṁgha (order) were represented in Northern Buddhism in mythical Boddhisattvas (1) Mañju-Śrī (be of beautiful glory (2) Avalokiteśvara (looking down Lord) often called Padampāṇi (the lotus handed). (3) Vajra-pāṇi or vajra-dhara, the thunderbolt handed. They are not found in oldest books of Northern Buddhism *e.g.* Lalitavistāra but they occur in Saddharma Puṇḍrika. (M. Williams. *Buddhism*, p. 195).
2. R.C. Kak. *Handbook*, p. 31.

the relics of his burnt body, then began to worship not only the relics but the receptacles under which they were buried and thence they started carving or moulding of small statuettes of his person in wood, stone, metal terracotta or clay. Sometimes they inscribed the famous Buddhist formaluae upon them,"[3] "Yē dharmā hētuprabhavā hētuṁ teshāṁ tathagato aha teshaṁ cha yo nirōdhā evaṁ vādī mahāśramaṇah." meaning the great sage Tathagata said the principles underlying the causes of phenomenea, their origin and also the means of their suppression.

The idea of seeking to become a Buddha is also not found in early Buddhism. Dinga Nikāya recognises only Metteya, one Buddha to be, but the full conception of Boddhisattvas appear in late texts.

3. Pali *Mahavagga* I. 23. 5
   M. Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 468.
   Sometimes avadat and uvāca are emitted (M. Williams. *Buddhism* vide ft. note 1, p. 104).
   A large number (nearly 30) unbaked clay sealing having this formulae written in Śarda characters are preserved in Kashmir Museum, Srinagar.
4. A.B. Keith. *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 134.
   D.N. III. 76.
   The development of religious ideas regarding Maitreya is a characteristic feature of Sarvāstivādin School (L.E.A. p. 177).
   Maitreya was a mere mythological personification of the spirit of love. (M. Williams. *Buddhism*, p. 187).
   The discovery of fresh evidence has enabled many to postulate the existence of Maitreya or Maitreyanatha as an historical person. He is supposed to be the human teacher of Asanga the real founder of Yogachara School (H. Vi 'Maitreya as an historical Personage) in Indian Studies' in Honour of C.R. Lanman Harward University Press 1929, pp. 91-101 ; G. Tucci on Some Aspects of the Doctrine of Maitreyanatha and Asanga, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 6-17 ; E J. Thomas, History of Buddhist Thought, II Ed. London 1951, p. 232, quoted in *L.E.A.* vide Ft. Note 6, p. 191).
   The first stage is of simple Arhat. The second in rank is Pratyeka-Buddha or solitary saint who has attained perfection by his own efforts and not through the teaching of any supreme Buddha. He could attain Nirvāṇa himself but could not impart Nirvāṇa to others. The third stage is of supreme Buddha or Buddha par-excellence (once a Boddhisattva) who having practiced transcendent virtues and through

From the Kushan period many sentient beings e.g. demigods gods etc. sprang up.[5] By seventh century there was craving among Buddhists to represent subjective etherial and metaphysical ideas in canons and stones in sculpture. The five Skandas were represented as five Dhyani Buddhas, Vairocana Akṣobhya. Ratna Sambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi. In later Buddhism Sakya Sinha lost his pre-eminent position in Buddhist pantheon,[6] and the six functionary gods in the pantheon sprang up. They are six divine Bodhisattvas-Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Ratanpāṇi, Padampāṇi, Visvapāṇi and Ghautapāṇi.[7]

Out of thirtytwo two major and eighty minor marks (Lakshanas) assigned to Buddha three are more important: (1) Usnisha or cranial proturberance (2) Tuft of hair or Urna in the middle of the brow, the symbol of third or mind eye. (3) The stigmata of wheel on his palms and on his soles.[8]

extinction of passions and desires is entitled for Pari-Nirvāṇa. Such supreme Buddhas who are perfect teachers and knowers are manifested on earth at long intervals. Gautma Buddha is the 4th Buddha of the age (Bhadra Kalpa). He was a Kshatriya. His three mythical predecessors Kraku-cchanda, Kanakamuni and Kaṣyapa were Brahamanas. He will be followed by 5th Buddha Maitreya, after five thousand years, when Gautama has passed out of men's memory. In their previous existence Gautma and his predecessors were Boddhisattvas (M Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 134-35 *Vastu Shastra* Vol. II vide *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 8. 17).

The Hinayanist whether a Śravaka (who hears from Buddha but neither himself nor could help others to attain Nirvaṇa) or Pratyeka would strive for his own Nirvaṇa. Mahāyānist stand for the emancipation of all. (*Vastu Shastra* vide *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 17).

5. R.C. Kak. *Hand Book*, p. 31.
6. H.P. Shastri, Adv. Vaj. Sang., pp. XXVIII-XXIX. He adds Dharnis were invented for these Buddhas. Five Skandas are : Rupa (form), Vedana (Sensation), Sanna (perception) Sankhara (mental tendencies and condition), Viaññana (consciousness). (Allen, *The Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 41).
7. *Vastu Shastra* Vol. II, vide *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 25.
8. J. P. Ghua. *Intro. Ind. Art*, pp. 115-117.
Urna or third eye and elongated ear-lobes are the symbol of magic marks. (J.P. Ghua. *Vastu Sastra* Vol. II vide *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 21).

The Buddha's figures from the late first Century B.C. to the first Century A.D. are characterised by their gentle and serene expressions.[9] An Arhat is normally depicted as dignified, bald and with certain severity in sculpture.[10] miniature Dhyani Buddha on the crown of a male or a female image indicate that the Buddha is either a father or a Guru or a husband of these deities.[11]

Purely Tantric gods are accompanied with their Śaktis who in sculpture are represented on the same or separate seat or in the lap of their consort or in actual embrace.[12]

The History of Sculpture

Kashmir has been a province of the Empire of Mauryas, Kushanas and White Huns. So from 3rd Century B.C. to 5th Century A.D. Kashmir shared their art. Harwan excavations represent Indo-Parthian style the finds of Uṣkar represent earlier Gandhāra style.[13]

Infact Gandhāra School of Sculpture sprang up after Kanishka's Council at Kashmir. Its two schools flourished from 1st Century A.D. to the invasion of White Huns (C. 5th Century A.D.). The centre of one school was at Gandhāra and of the other was at Mathura. Ousted from its centres

9. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
10. E. Conze. *Buddhism*, p. 93.
11. H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vajra Sangh*, p. XXX.
Adv. Vajra Sanghrah says that other four Dhyani Buddhas have a stamp of miniature Aksobhya on their crown. They (other Buddhas) cannot be known withitig Akṣobhya or the stamp of Vijnana. The relation of Guru or husband is not there but Akṣobhya is again stamped with the miniature figure of Vajra-Sattva which is sometimes like sixth Buddha. Vajra is Śunyats and Sattva is pure knowledge, thus more important from the Buddhist point of view. So Akṣobhya is stamped with the miniature Vajra-Sattva. (*Adv. Vajra Sang.*, H.P. Shastri, p. XXX).
12. *Vastu*-Śastra Vol. II vide *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 18 (Queen Didda's (A.D. 980-1003) bronze sculpture of Padampāṇi is an example p. 70 R.C. Kak's Hand book).
13. H. Goetz., *Marg*, Journal. 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

the art flourished in Kashmir upto 7th Century A.D. Generally sculpture made from grey stone belong to the early phase while stucco and terra-cota sculptures belong to the later phase from 3rd Century A.D. onwards. As Kanishka and Huvishka employed Kushan craftsmen, they produced the images of Buddha arrayed in Roman Toga and Boddhisattva with moustache.[14]

The Gupta Art started infiltrating in the valley from 4th Century A.D. The fragmentary sculptures found from Pandrethan depict that the art left its permanent mark on the local craftsmen of the valley by 7th Century A.D. or even a little earlier.[15] The earlier stūpas and sculpture of Pandrethan represent degenerated provincial Gupta Art. This art is further seen at Parihāspura in the anoemic Buddha statuettes and reliefs with which Chankuna, the Buddhist minister of Lalitaditya decorated his big Stūpa. H. Goetz construes that the statuettes of Chankuna's structure at Pandrethan though of Kashmiri workmanship are copied from Chinese provincial Art[16] The Chinese fashion was superceded by other influences with the expansion of Lalitaditya's empire. It is not known how Buddha's statue in Lalitaditya's Chaitya by the side of Chankuna's stūpa, or its counterpart at Pravarpura looked. But by the Parihāspura ruins's scrutiny it is obvious that they might have been huge figures encased in tower like buildings and were inspired 'by the gigantic rock-carved Buddha figures in the defile Bamiyan in Afganistan.' It was a world famous centre of pilgrimage even in Lalitaditya's time.

This too was a fleeing fashion. With the further development uf Lalitaditya's empire Roman Architecture and late

14. J.P. Ghua, *Intro. Ind. Art*, pp. 115-17.
15. *Marg* Journal, 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 65.
R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, pp 115-116.
16. *Marg. Journal* 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 68.
H. Goetz adds that Chankuna was a Tokhara from Eastern Turkistan and had been a Chinese government officer before he was sent to king Chandrapiḍa (A.D. 713-25) as an adviser by the 'T'ang Emperor Hsuan Tsung. Hence it is not surprising that the provincial Gupta Art was first influenced, neither by Indian nor Gandhāra Art but by Chinese Art.

Gupta sculpture became prominent. The ruins of an unidentified temple, rebuild in 5th Century by Zain-ul-Abdin as a musoleum for his mother and the temple of are Martand the examples.[17]

During the last years of Lalitaditya, a new style which represented characteristic medieval Art of Kashmir emerged. It represents a sculpture powerful and full of vitality, often crudely modelled and badly proportioned, heavy bodies, broad faces, legs rather short and belles pronouncedly modelled (perhaps a Gandhāra or Central Asian Buddhist heritage).[18]

The Divsar frame of Sankarvarman's time (A.D. 883-902) shows the artistic consequences of his alliance with Rashtrakutas against the Prathiharas of Kanauja. It has close relationship with the sculpture of Ellora especially of the Daśavatarā and Lankaśvara caves.[19]

Queeṅ Didd's long reign (A.D. 958-1903) brought about a certain recovery of the art. Boddhisatitva Padampāṇi with two goddesses Tārā and Brikuti (Bronze) and stone-relief representing the birth of Siddhārtha, the future Buddha are beautiful examples.[20]

The Buddhist Inconography draws its inspiration directly from the scriptures. The Āsānas and sculptures of Kashmir are not deviations from this principle.

The Mūdrās (Poses) found in Kashmiri sculptures are the following :

Abhvamudrā, has its origin in the natural movements. The raised hand probably originated in the middle east and spead Eastward and Westward. It is a common gesture in Gandharān sculpture and in Roman Art since Severus (C 200) where the

17. *Marg Journal*, 1955, Vol. III, p. 68.
18. *Marg Journal*, 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 68.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Emperor is depicted with the raised right hand. In Semitic religious ritual this gesture was used as a blessing magic powers.[21]

In Buddhism, Abhyamudrā is derived from the legend of Devadattā. He wishing to hurt, threw maddened elephant on Buddha. As the elephant was going to trample Sakyamuni, he raised his right hand with the fingers close together. The gesture not only stopped the animal in his tracks but subdued him fearlessly. Hence the gesture is known for its fearlessness.[22]

According to a later version, when Buddha raised his right hand, five lions issued from his fingers and attacked the elephant. So this mudrā is called the gesture of five coloured rays.[23]

In Aśvaghosha's Sutralaṁkara, the question, why Buddha is represented with right hand raieed by the talented artisans of the world, is answered, that this gesture infuses confidence amongst the frightened. Thus this gesture becomes in the course of time, the gift of Buddha, for living without fear and inspires repose of mind and freedom from the pains and troubles of the world. In most of the Gandhāran works, this pose represents teaching after Buddha's fashion. Sometimes a wheel on the palm of the right hand symbolises the teaching.[24]

The cldest gesture, depicting a close association between the idea of the gift, fearlessness and devinity is found in Kushana Art of Mathura and is attributed to Avalokiteśvara. This gesture continued to be used in Indian Art for Avalokiteśara, at Ajanta, at Aurangabad VII until the Palasena Art of

21. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 55.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. E. Dale refers to Watters, Y-Ch. II p. 149 also Foucher, Iconographic boudhique II, pp. 169-70 and Pl. X. 5 on p. 218 vide Ft. Note 26. Buddha tamed and conquered the animal. Ahiṃsa dominates according to the legend.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
Foucher, pp. 485-86 ff. fig. 243, p. 485.
(LHR Museum No. 5. Stupa of Sikri). The Buddha (Musée Guimet No. 17478, Afganistan III-IV Century) quoted by E. Dale on p. 219, vide footnote 46.

Bengal developed. Gradually it was replaced by Varad-mudrā.[24]

Dhyanimudrā is closely associated with the Indian concept of Samādhi. In the Gandhāran school, the position symbolises the supreme meditation of the historical Buddha, and his qualities of tranquility, impassivity and superiority. He was found in this attitude when the demon armies of Māra attacked him. He altered it only when he triumphed over the demons and called the earth to witness the moment.[26] According to another legend Dhyanimudrā or Uttarbodhimudra (Mudrā of the Lotus) symbolise Buddha as the liberater of Nāgas.[27]

Dharam Chakra Mūdrā

Dharam Chakra Mūdrā is a combination of Jñana and Vyakhyā-mudrā.[28] Before Buddhism, Indo-Europeans used 'wheel' as an emblem of sun and fire. Just as sun dissipates

25. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 63.
Abhyamudrā is early found in Japan and China as a symbol not of fearlessness but preaching of the Law. (E. Dale, Mūdrā, p. 61).
Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pl. 8
Bodhisattva of Katra (Mathura). C. A.D. 100, Pl. 82,
Buddha-Bodhisattva (fragment), Mathura ; Ca. AD 80-1000 ; Pl. 129 ;
Amarāvati (end of 11th Century) Mallmann. Intro., p. 262, cf. Pl IIIb quoted by E. Dale, p. 219 vide ft. notes 56, 59, 60.
26. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, pp. 85-88.
Mus Paul, Barabudar ; Esquisse due-histoire du bauddhism, fondee Sur la critique archaelogique des texts.
Paris 1935 2 volts, p. 586, quoted by E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 228 vide ft. note 24.
27. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, pp. 87-88.
Uttarbodhi in Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lāmāism*, pp. 22-23.
Waddel in '*The Buddhism in Tibet*' p. 337 reports :
"The best perfection (Uttarbodhi) Index finger and and thumb of each hand are found and held almost in contact with the breast at the level of the heart", quoted by E. Dale vide *Mūdrā*, ft. note 26 , pp. 228-229.
28. Majumdar, *The History of Bengal*, The University of Dacca 1943. I Vol. p. 475, quotcd by E. Dale vide *Mūdrā*, ft. note I p. 231.

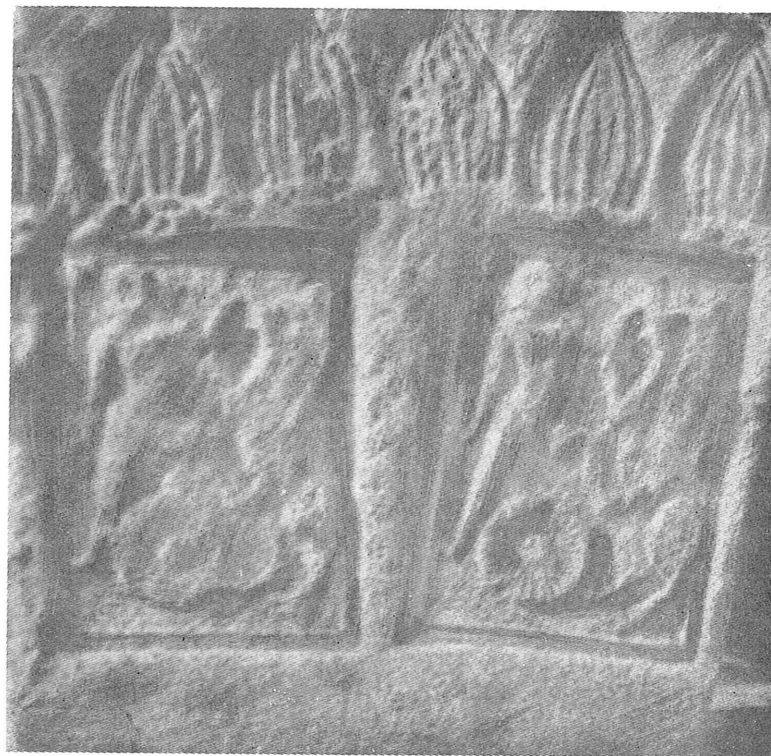
the morning clouds, in Buddhism vairocana who carries this attribute, dissipates lies and error.[29]

In Buddhist art Dharam Chakra Mūdrā is represented to recall the precise moment of the Buddhist legend when Buddha triumphed over the attacks of the evil demon Māra, he delivered his first sermon in the deer Park at Benaras. This was the moment when Buddha put into motion the wheel of the law. The scene was symbol'shed with a pillar surmounted by a wheel and flanked by two affronted deer. In econography the same wheel persists but it is either traced on the body of Buddha or held in his hands. This symbolism of wheel acknowledges of omnipotence and sovereignity of monarch.[30]

Padamāsana or Lotus-posture is usually used in Northern Buddhism where majority of the divinities are shown, either standing on a lotus-flower or seated on a lotus throne. The early Buddha as a tangible human being stood on the ground but in Mahāyāna Buddhism he became the epiphany of a transcendental essence and is placed upon the lotus the cosmic flower. When Buddha is shown sitting under the Boddhi tree on his diamond throne (vijrāsna), some part of the throne presents this fact with the presence of a Vajra.[31]

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29. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 95.
Vairocana : from Virocana "who illumines, who lightens, Sun, Sun-god, Visnu, Moon." E. Dale *Mūdrā* footnote 14, p. 232, quoted Renou Dict. p. 6722 b).
30. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 99.
In Pre-Buddhist days the Chakravartin (Chakra-wheel; vartin—he who puts in movement) king used wheel as symbol of distinctive arms. A close relationship between Buddha and the universal monarch is established. The wheel of law is put in movement by him as it passes through world crushes all evil, all error and all enemies of law. (E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p, 96).
Dharmachakra signifies the preaching of first sermon, the turning of the wheel of Righteousness (R.S. Gupta, *The Iconography of the Buddhist Sculptures, Cavas of Ellora*, p. 28).
31. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, pp. 122-124.



Panels of beaked lion and a man armed with club fighting for the possession of the wheel

In the words of Coomarswamy "Padamāsana and Vajrāsana are equally symbols of the Sthayiti (existence). Both express visually Sada Sthita or tiṣtati, with respect to the Buddha or any angel, both differentiate the states of Sambhogakāyā from that of Dharamakāyā, which is inaccessible even to the anglie eye."[32]

Sometimes the left leg is folded over the right to represent the attitude of subduing demons, while the right is folded over the left to represent the attitude of blessings, the hands being placed in similar order.[33]

Harwan

The curved tiles of Harwan, discovered during the early quarter of the century are the oldest antiquities of Kashmir. R.C. Kak finds on the Harwan Tiles Sessānian and Central Asian characteristics upon a background of Gandhāra Art.[34] (4th and 5th Century A.D.) while H. Goetz opines that they represent a local variety of Indo-Parthian style.[35]

By the erosion of the bank of a mountain torent (at Harwan) a carved brick has been discovered. It contains two penals surmounted by a row of lotus petals. Each penal contains a beaked lion and a man armed with club, who appear to be fighting for the possession of the wheel seen below. The wheel may be the wheel of the Buddhist law (Dharmachakra) and it is just possible that the scene may symbolise the struggle and ultimate triumph of Buddhism (represented by men) over other religions.[36]

Another rare example of engraved tile from Harwan is of emaciated monks with shaggy beards. The tile has three

32. Coomarswamy., E.B.I., p. 50 quoted by E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 124.
33. Soothhill, p. 386b (quoted by E. Dale vide Mūdrā footnote 15). Right leg stands for the world of Buddhas, and the left leg stands for the sentient beings. E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 124.
34. R,C. Kak. *Handbook*, p. 4. According to *Rajat.*, Nagarjuna the great Buddhist patriarch, the contemporary of Kanishka lived at Harwan (R.C. Kak., *Handbook*, p. 110).
35. *Marg* Journal, 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 65.
36. R.C. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 112-114. (The Photo is attached here with)

monks engraved on it. Everyone of them is sitting with back doubled, legs tucked up and his chin resting upon his hands which are placed on his knees. The figures are realistic and give a true pictures of the physical effect of starvation.[37]

A miniature stupa found from Harwan is the true copy of Buddhist stūpa found there. The photo is attached herewith.

Uṣkar

Daya Ram Sahani excavated Huṣkapura modern Uṣkar near Bārāmūlā and discovered a stūpa and its surrounding wall. Outside the North enclosure wall, a few terra-cotta figures have been discovered. These fragments resemble the late Gandhāra Art and they are amongst the earliest examples of Kashmir sculpture hitherto discovered.[38]

No. Bc 1, represents a plaque with a beaded border bearing the figure of the Buddha in relief. The Buddha is seated cross-legged in meditation (Dhyanimūdrā) with hands joined on the lap and palms upward. He is clad in traditional Tri-chivara or three garments.[39]

Buddha's head Bc. 2 is an example of later Gandhāra Art. The lips smile and bear deep dimples on the corners. The eye-brows are elongated and slightly slanting, while the eye-balls protrude a little beyond the eye-lids. The head bears conventional curls, which have mostly now fallen off.[40]

Bc 3 is the oval head of Sakya prince. It has half-closed eyes with their gaze abstracted from the outerworld and inwards. The broad massive forehead indicates the tremendous intellectual powers.[41]

37. R.C. Kak., *Handbook*, pp. 114-115. The photo is attached here with.
38. H. Goetz. The *Medeival Sculpture of Kashmir*, vide *Marg.* Journal, 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 65.
39. R.C. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 11.
40. R.C. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 12-13.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.



MINIATURE STUPA (Harwan Tile)



Harwan Tile, emaciated monk

Bc 10 is the head of a Boddhisattva. It bears delicate features rounded chin, a little weary smile and self satiated expression on the face.[42]

Bc 15 represents a youthful monk. He has shaven head, high forehead, arched eye-brows, large dreamy eyes, contented look and half smile on the looks. The high skull seems to be the result of lateral pressure, a practice which was once prevalent among certain tribes of central Asia.[43]

Bc 16 is a monks' head with close-cropped hair. Though the features are less delicate and refined, the conical shape of the head is noteworthy.[44]

Bc 18 is the head of an Upāsika or female lay devotee. It has small nose, sensitive nostrils, soft delicate lips, the plump rounded chin, hair smoothly combed-back and falling in curly tresses on the shoulders. The expression of devotion is clearly visible on the face.[45]

Bc 17, probably is of an attendant who stood on the left-hand side of the principal image, probably of Buddha or Boddhisattva discovered at Uṣkara.[46] It neither depicts the delicacy nor the meditative look of Bc 2, Bc3, Bc 15 and Bc 16 mentioned above.

Besides these a few fragments have also been found. Bc 63 is the fore arm with bangles round the wrist. The handful of flowers, Kusumāṇjali, (only two are extant) is intended as an offering to the Buddha.[47]

The Buddhist sculptured pieces clearly depict the effect of foreign touch as well as indigenous Indian Art of which

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42. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Ajanta frescoes are the finest examples. The smile on the faces is of Gr eek parantage.

A few ornaments rings Bc 68, bangles Bc 63, Upper arm encircled by a beaded armlet Bc 52, Bc 64 and Bc 66, illustrate the kind of wristlets which were in fashion in those days.[48]

A few terracotta ornamental leaves, pendants of Boddhisattva's necklaces etc. have also been found at Uṣkara,[49] which are kept in Kashmir museum.

Pandrethan

Daya Ram Sahani excavated Pandrethan and discovered a number of sculptures, nearly all of which are unfortunately fragmentary. But they do give the idea of the quality of the Kashmir artist's work about the time the old city was finally abandoned in favour of its younger rival, Srinagar.[50]

The sculpture of Pandrethan depict the starting point of medieval Kashmir Art, which is degenerated provincial Gupta style.[51]

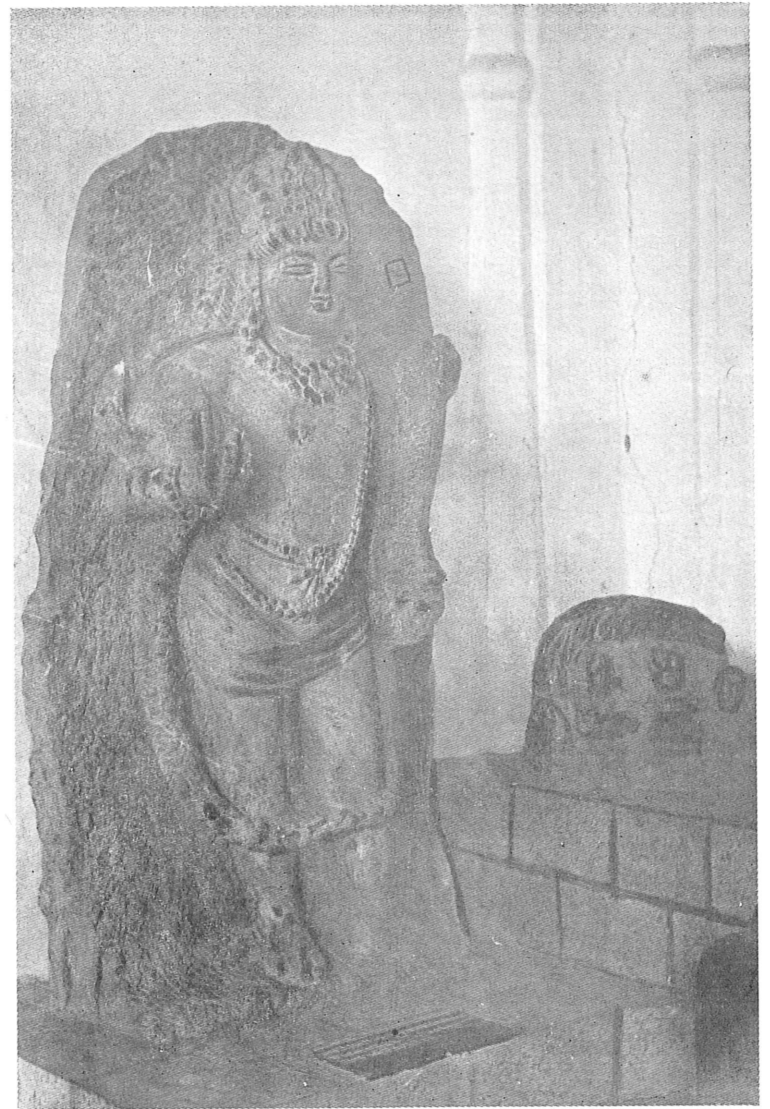
Pandrethan Sculpture

The relief Aa. 11 represents standing Buddha clad in Trichivara, the three vestments. The left arm is bent and the hand now broken off, originally gathered up the loose ends of the upper garment, the hem of which is considerably folded. The right arm which is similarly fragmentary was probably held in Abhyamūdrā, granting immunity from fear. The halo is large circular and plain.[52]

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
51. H. Goetz, *Marg.* Journal, 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 67.
52. R.C. Kak. *Handbook*, p. 28.



Pandrethan Buddha



Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from Pandrethan

Buddha's sculpture,[53] is remarkably well executed. Though the face is badly damaged, it clearly expresses Buddha's supreme quality of compassion. The right hand is in the attitude of granting 'Abhya' and the left hand has gathered up the loose ends of the upper garment. The chest is well developed and the waist is slender. The forehead is low and broad.

Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[54] holds in the left hand a lotus bud with a long stalk, and the right hand which tells the beads of a small rosary is raised in Abhyamūdrā. The face expresses detached serenity which can only accrue from deep and sustained contemplation. This resembles with all Gupta Period's sculptures.

Aa 16[55] represents Buddha seated on a lotus throne in Dhyanimūdrā, with hands in the lap and palms placed on each other. The ear-lobes as in all the Buddha and Bodhisattvas' figures are extraordinary elongated.

Fragment Aa[56] is the part of a large relief of which Buddha or Bodhisattva was the central figure. It shows two figures. The upper one is of flying Gāndharva (a class of demigods) came to offer adoration to the Blessed Lord and the lower figure represent miniature Buddha. Buddha is

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53. *Ibid.*, p. 29. The photo is attached herewith.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 34. The Photo is attached herewith.
"The lotus grows in mud, yet rises immaculate to the surface of the water to bloom. This symbolises purity and perfection". E. Dale *Mūdrā*, p. 159.
"In the hands of Padampāṇi, the lotus represents the creative power of the divinity". E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 251, vide ft.note 10.
55. R.C. Kak, *Handbook*, p. 33.
'The world-lotus blooms in response to the rising of the Sun in the beginning, in answer to and as a reflection to the light of heaven on the surface of the water". Coomarswamy, E.B.I., p. 20 quoted by E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 250 ft. note I.
Lotus throne may have been used by the sculptures to represent the light of Buddha's teaching in purity, detachment and perfection.
56. R.C. Kak., *Handbook*, p. 34.

holding the end of his garment with left hand and right hand is in the attitude of granting 'Abhya' or Abhyamūdrā.

Aa 104 represents the birth of Siddhārtha, the future Buddha. It belongs to queen Didda's time. The queen mother, Māyādevi, on her way for her father's home for delivery, stopped at the Lumbini garden to take a little rest. Strolling through the garden she felt the pangs of travail. The sculpture depicts her right hand indistinctively catching hold of a branch of the tree under which she is standing. With her left hand she is taking support of her sister Prajāpati, who in relief is seen at that side of the queen. The figure to her right side is perhaps of Brahmā or Sakra, the king of gods, waiting to adore the saviour of the world. The female figure waving the Chauri or flying whisk above is probably a goddess.[57] Māyādevi is shown wearing 'Dojaru' in her ears, the Kashmiri married women's symbol ornament.

"In some way influenced by Pālā sculptures, the relief is reminiscent also of the 'Indian' murals in the Buddhist caves of Kucha area of Eastern Turkistan, especially on the folds of the fat around the neck, and in the widely cut out shirt which both the women are wearing."[58]

57. R.C. Kak, *Handbook*, pp. 37-38, Marg. Journal 1955, p. 72, The Photo is attached herewith.
Lumbini is in the kingdom of Nepal in the Himalayan Terai region. It is 25 miles north of Navtanwa railway terminus in the Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh. (R.R. Diwakar, Bhagwan Buddha, pp. 24-25) Hieun-Thsang relates that there is a Vihāra at Kapilvastu, indicating the spot where Lord Buddha decended spiritually into the womb of her mother, and the representation is drawn in the Vihāra. M. Williams has seen many representations of it in sculpture (M. Williams, *Buddhism*, Ft. Note I. p. 180).
Sir A. Cunningham has found a sculpture pieces (C. 400 AD) from Sarnath near Benaras. It illustrates four principal events in Gautama Buddha's life, Birth from his mother's side, his teaching at Benaras, his attainment of Buddhahood under the tree and his passing away in complete Nirvaṇa (M. William, Buddhism Opp., p. 477).
Buddha's mother died 7 days after his birth and the infant was brought up by Prajāpatī, his step mother (M. Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 23).
58. H. Goetz, *Marg.* (Journal), 1955, p. 72.



Lumbini garden scene



Bodhisattva from Parihaspura



Buddha from Parihaspura



Bodhisattva granting Protection

Parihaspura Sculptures

King Lalitāditya founded Parihāspura as his capital. He adorned his capital with Buddhist and Brahamnical buildings. The Buddhist buildings a Stūpa, a monāstery and a Chaitya temple have been excavated. The sculpture fragments have been discovered from the debris of these buildings.

Aa. 2 is Buddha's image cross-legged in a trefoil niche. He is in the attitude of meditation with crossed hands in the lap. His ears are alongated and his face though does not lack expression is more effeminate than the earlier specimens coming from Pandrethan. The figure resembles the Indian sculpture of the same date.[59]

Aa. 3 and Aa. 4 are two Bodhisattvas standing in the attitude of granting protection from fear (Abhyamūdrā) clad in close clinging transparent drapery, the folds of which are gathered mostly on the upper half of the body. Aa. 3 is wearing the crown and jewels of a Boddhisattva and the monastic robes of the Buddha, while both Aa 3 and Aa 4 are crowned with cornets consisting of three jewelled crescents placed side by side. The ear-drops are long. The eyes are closed and give a dreamy looks to the face. Both wear low hanging necklaces. Aa 4 has a couple of lotus-buds on the shoulders. The auspicious lozenge-like mark (Srivatasalaṇchhana) of Vishnu is placed on the chest.[60] It clearly shows that the iconographical canons of the Hindus were adopted by the Buddhist sculptures in the later stage in its struggle with Brahamanism.

As narrated previously the Bodhisattva statues of Parihāspura are of pure Tang prototype while Buddha's statues are inspired by the gigantic rock-carved figures in the defile of

59. R.C. Kak. *Handbook*, p. 41.
The Photo is attached herewith.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45. The Photo Aa. 4 is attached herewith.

Bamiyan in Afganistan, which was a famous centre of pilgrimage even in the time of Lalitaditya.[61]

Bronze Sculptures

Image C 1 is of standing Buddha of the late Gandhāra type. The right hand palm has chakra engraved upon it and is raised in Abhyamūdrā. It has the Ushnisha, the Urnā or the auspicious mark on the forehead (may be the prototype of the third spiritual eye of Śiva) and the long ear lobes. He is clad in 'Trichivara' the three monastic garments.[62]

Boddhisattva Padampāṇi kept in Kashmir museum is illustrated on page 70 of R. C. Kak's Handbook. He is having the full-blown lotus, his symbol over his left shoulder and is holding the stalk in his lower most left hand. Originally the image had six arms and there exists now only four.

There is rosary in the uppermost right hand and the middle hand is stretched downwards in the 'Varada' or gift bestowing attitude. The Boddhisattva is wearing necklace, armlets, a jewelled girdle, a broad band which ruins across the middle of the body and the sacred thread worn after the fashion of the Hindus. A tiny figure of a 'Dhyani Buddha Amitabha' the spiritual ego of the Bodhisattva is seen seated on his head in the attitude of meditation.

The Bodhisattva is sitting on double-lotus supported, carved pedestal. On either side of pedestal on lotus thrones are seated, two goddesses Tārā and Brikuti representing the psychic powers of the sage. The necklace, eyes and Urnā of the Bodhisattvas and the eyes of the attendant goddesses are plated with silver.[63]

61. H. Goetz, *Marg* Journal, 1955, Vol. VIII, p. 68.
One Photo is attached herewith.
62. R.C. Kak. *Handbook*, p. 68.
63. R.C. Kak. *Handbook*, pp. 68-71. The Photo is attached herewith.
Varadmūdrā. 'Var' means boon or gift, Date give hence boony or gift bestowing mūdrā or attitude.



Bodhisattva on double lotus

The figure measures 10″ high $7\frac{1}{2}$″ in width and $2\frac{1}{2}$″ in thickness. The Bodhisattva is seated in Mahārāja Lilāsana pose, with left leg hanging down and the foot resting on the ground and the right leg bent and placed in squatting attitude with foot resting on the lotus seat. At the lower edge on three sides of the pedestal there is engraved an inscription. This records that in the Laukika Sambat 55, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śravana in the reign of queen Didda, this bronze statue of Bodhisattva Padampāṇi was donated for earning religious merit for the son of the devotee Rajendra Bhima as well as for the gratification of the brother of the pious lady Sangha Devi. The inscribed stone statue was cast and put up in the reign of queen Didda who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 980-1003.[64]

Besides these the Kashmir museum has C 3 a brass statuette of six armed Bodhisattva probably Maitrya a Ladakh manufacture ; C 4 a statue of Bodhisattva in a Tibetan workmanship ; C 5 a Bodhisattva from Takalmadan in Central Asia and C 18 an ornamental casket bearing the coloured drawing of Buddha in 'Bhumisparśamūdrā' of Tibetan origin.[65]

Varada Mūdrā indicates the charity of Buddha as it is a gesture of dispensing favoures. L. 'Inde Classique, p. 627, quotd by E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, vide ft. note 20, p. 215.

The original idea of the Mūdrā is Buddha's, charity, but by extention it symbolised the "The gift of truth, made by Buddha, truth of doctrine and truth of the means of salvation". Soothhill, p. 303b, quoted by E. Dale, Mūdrā, ft. note 21 p. 215. In India it is seen in the statues of Maitreya Manjuśri, Vajrapāṇi, Tārā, Vishnu Śiva and others. E. Dale, Mūdrā, vide ft. note 22, p. 215.

64. The present writer is indebted to Sri K.N. Shastri for these details of the statue, and translating the inscription.

Ins. L. 1 (R. side edge. ओ सं ५५ श्रा शु १५ श्री ब्र

(Front edge) दिद्दादेवराज्ये देयधर्मोयं राजाजनक उपासक भीम

पुत्रस्य तथामरमाता संगदेव्या भ्रातृ सन्तुष्टायस्य

सकल.......................... end broken.

Maharajaliāsana is the posture of royal ease. This position is associated with lion throne and is forbidden formally to the monks. It is commonly used by Bodhisattva, Manjuśri and Avalokiteśvara (E. Dale, Mudra, p. 128).

Lion Throne, Lion is the king of animals, carries Buddha king of the Law. "Buddha, the lion among men, preaches sermons which are the lions' roar (Sinhanāda)". E. Dale, *Mūdrā*, p. 132.

65. R.C. Kak. *Handbook*, pp. 71-75.

Divsar Frame

Recently a 'Brass Frame' has been discovered from Divsar in Kulgam Tahsil and is lying in Kashmir museum at present. In a sequence of lotus spirials it represents various Avataras including Buddha (fig. 9 in the frame) It depicts some Panchrātramurtis of Vishnu, the whole being crowned by a group of Vishnu as Para-vasudeva with his attendants. H. Goetz opines that the frame was prepared for the conversion of a Buddhist Temple into a Vaishnava temple. This was a shrewed method used by king Sankarvarman (A. D. 883-902) to loot rich old sanctuary under the pretext of religious reform.[66]

Another recent excavation is Buddhist Bust (No. 7 Archaeology Section, Srinagar Museum). It is excavated from Parihāspura.

Mr. T. N. Khazanchi excavated Burzhom site in 1960-63 and found one sculptured Buddha-image lying in the Nala flowing by the side of the mount. The photo is attached herewith.

The effect of Buddhism upon Arts and Crafts

The Kashmiri craftsman's skill is exhibited in the smallest pieces of wood. Wooden decoration pieces, table lamps and temples with Buddha in Dhyanimūdrā are carved in wood for various purposes.

One striking example of the twentieth century Kashmiri wooden-art is the carving of a Buddhist temple, nearly 1½ ft.sq. in size. It depicts the cells of a monastery, the tope, and the chaitya. Buddha is shown sitting in Dhyanimūdrā in the middle of the courtyard just opposite the gate, and his wooden

66. H. Goetz. *Marg.* Journal, 1955, Vol. VIII, pp. 70-71.
Rao says that throughout Chalukya and Hoysala countries Buddha is invariably included among the ten Avatāras (*Vastu Shāstra* Vol. II vide *Budd. Iconography*, p. 22).
The photo is attached herewith.



Frame of Avataras from Divsar



Buddha from Burzhom

chappels are lying on one side. All round these buildings is a wall. The electric fitting ın the cells and temples and the temple of Shankaracharya in it are modern touches. It is a mixture of Harwan Monastery design and Shankaracharya Temple.

Painting

There are very few examples to depict the effect of Buddhist upon painting. The earliest reference is found in Nīlamata. It mentions the paintings of the walls of Chaityas on the celebration of Buddha's birthday.[67] Kṣemendra in his Samyamātrika mentions paintings, though there is nothing to indicate that they were Buddhist.[68] Bodhisattvavdāna of his Avadankalaplata which was completed by his son in the 11th century, refers in the introduction, to beautiful colours on the walls of the monasteries which have perished.[69]

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67. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese) vv. 686-690.
68. *Samyamātrika*, IV. v. 17.
69. *Avadānakalaplatā*, Introduction

सस्क्तनेत्रामृतचित्र चित्राः कालेन ते ते विगता विहाराः ।
सरस्वीतूलिकया विचित्र वर्ण क्रमैकोल्लिखिता वदानः ।
तातेन योऽयं विहितो महार्धेः सनन्दन पुण्यमयौ विहारः ।
न तस्य नाशोऽस्ति युगक्षयेऽपि जलान लोल्लसपरिप्लवेन ।

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE

From the lower valley of the Ganges to the table-land of upper-Asia the Buddhist literature developed in three great phases: (1) within Magadha's limits and its neighbourhood the Buddhist literature is composed in verse and is in Magdhan dialect. It reproduces generally the sayings of Sakyamuni or of his contemporaries.

(2) In the plain watered by Ganges and Yamuna the language used is Sanskrit and the works tell us about the time that follow the death of Buddha.

(3) Reaching Kashmir, as unlimited expansion opened before Buddhism towards Central Asia, the writers of the valley and neighbouring countries use Sanskrit, Sharda, Ladhakhi, Tibetan or Chinese etc. the respective languages of their regions and countries. They embellish, recast, comment, develop and collect ancient texts. Moreover, Kanishka got Mahavibhāṣas compiled in Sanskrit with the help of Aṣvaghoṣa in Kashmir.

Buddhism became a prominent religion of the valley from the days of Kanishka. It influenced not only the religious views of the people, but also produced profound effect upon

their life. Inasmuch as literature means the life and activity of the people, it could not remain immune from Buddhistic influences.

The Nīlamata Purāna, written in 6th or 7th century A.D., is the oldest available work that throws light on the impact of Buddhism upon the poets of the valley. In this Purāṇa Buddha is described as an incarnation of Vishnu. His birthday is celebrated with festivity, dance, and rejoicing. The worship of Buddha is followed by that of Buddhist saints. Cows, garments, food and books are presented on this day to the ascetics.[1]

Sarvajña Mitra, a Buddhist monk of the middle of 8th Century A.D.,[2] wrote a hymn called Sragdhāra Stotram (in Sragdhāra meter) of thirty-seven verses in praise of the Buddhist goddess, Tārā.[3]

Shivasvamin son of Bhaṭṭarkasvanmin,[4] who flourished during 855-883 A.D.,[5] wrote 'Kapphinabhudya' which he called 'Śuktih Śaktsrih.'[6] Shiva Svamin might have selected the name to sing the glories of Kashmir as well as Kapphina, one of the twelve great deciples of Buddha. [7]

The story of Kapphina is found in Manorātha Puraṇi (commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya) in the Avadanaśataka, and in the commentary on Dhammapada.[8]

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1. *Nīlamata* (Ed. by Vreese), vv. 684-690.
2. *Sragdhara-Stotram* (Ed. by Satish Chandar Vidyabhushan) Intro., p. XXVIIII ;
   Nariman, History of Sanskrit Buddhism, p. 111 ;
   Rajat., IV. v. 210.
3. *Sragdhara-Stotram* (Ed. by S.C. Vidyabhushan) Intro., p. XXVIII ;
   Nariman, *History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 111 ;
   Winternitz. *H.I.L.*, p. 378.
4. G. Shankar, *Kapphina*, p. XXXVIII.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, p. XXXVIII.
7. *Ibid.*, p. XLI.
8. *Ibid.*, p. XXI.

In Kapphinabhudya preference is given to the achievement of salvation through detachment from the worldly things. In this Buddha preaches in Hetumālā or the chain of twelve links which tie a person to bondage.[9] The spirit of Buddha is harmonised with Hindu view of life.[10] Shivasvamin has used thirty-nine Buddhist terminologies in the text.[11] The poet has compared one mountain with Indra and Boddhisattva.[12]

Somananda, a pupil of Vasugupta and teacher of Abhinava Gupta,[13] was a great Trika philosopher of Kashmir. His famous work 'The Shiva Drishti' is the same as Shiva Darshana. He has used the term 'Drishti' like the Buddhist writers to convey the meaning of Darshna.[14] His pupil Abhinava Gupta produced a series of works in the beginning of the 11th Century.[15] He worked on three systems of Philosophy-(1) Shiva philosophical literature as the Krama, (2) The Trika (the only branch Pratyabhijña) and (3) The Kula.[16] His contribution to 'Trika' explanation is so great that he was imitated by a number of later writers.[17] His Trika shows clear influence of Buddhism.[18] Abhinava Gupta's famous work "Iśvara Pratyabhijña Vimarṣini" where he criticises the rival philosophical theories, Buddha figures as the chief opponent.[19] He (Abhinava) has criticised Sautrantika and Vijñānavāda

9. *Ibid.*, XX. v. 22. रागत्यागान्मुक्तिरहाय कार्या ।
10. *Ibid.*, Kapphina, p. XLIV.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. XLIV-XLVI.
12. *Ibid.*, p. XXXV.
13. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 74.
14. J.C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, p. 18.
15. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. 1, pp. 3, 4; *Būhler's* Report, p. 65.
16. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 14.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 165.
18. Vide Chapter V of this thesis.
19. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 267; *Iśvara Pratyabhijña Vimarsini*, Vols. I & II, 1918.

schools of Buddhism in connection with his theory of perception.[20] He has refuted the Buddhist theory of rememberance as well.[21]

Kṣemendra

No writer of the age was as much influenced by Buddhism as Kṣemendra. He lived in the 11th century[22] and completed his Samyamatrika in 1050 A.D. during the reign of King Ananta (1029-1064 A.D.) He wrote Daśavatarcharitam in 1065 A.D.[23] Nariman calls Kṣemendra, the Kashmirian Buddhist poet, who flourished in about 1040 A.D.[24] Kṣemendra was a pupil of Abhinava Gupta[25] and inherited devotion to Shiva from his father which developed due to Abhinava Gupta's influence.[26] Later on he leaned towards Vaishnavism on account of Bhagavata's influence.[27] He studied Buddhism which exerted great influence upon his writings. Though a Hindu by religion, he was an admirer of Buddha's teachings.[28] Kṣemendra's thirty works are known to us.[29] His Vrihatkathāmanjari was

20. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 269.
Sautrantrika theory lays that everything is momentary. "The subject, the self luminious consciousness (Buddha) is no less momentary than the objcct". (K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 269).
Vijñavada, "according to sensationalist, a cognition is nothing but presentment brought about by natural sense of a link of Vāsanā" (K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 272).
21. K.C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I, p. 292.
Rememberance Theory: "According to Buddhists rememberance is a representative consciousness. It is a mere reproduction of a former state of consciousness".
22. *Būhler's Report*, p. 11. He flourished between 1015-1066 A.D., (Dr. M. Gaur, *Acharya Kṣemendra*, p. 2). He lived in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 11th Century. (H.H. William, *Hindu History of Kashmir*, p. 127).
23. *Būhler's Report*, p. 46.
24. Nariman, *History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 62.
25. *Brihatkathāmanjari*, Verse No. 37. p. 620.
26. *Būhler's Report*, p. 46; M. Kaul, *Desho. & Narma*, Intro., p. 22.
27. *Būhler's Report*, p. 46.
28. M. Kaul, *Desho & Narma*, Intro., p. 22.
29. *Ibid.*, Intro., p. 25.

first discovered by Dr. Burnell and afterwards by Būhler from Gujrat. His Kalāvilasa was discovered by Rajendra Lal Mitra Ramayanakathāsāra or Ramayanamanjari, Dasavatāracharita, Samyamatrika and Vyas-Aṣtaka were found in Kashmir.[30]

Kṣemendra's works can be divided into two categories (1) didactic composition and (2) narrative abstracts from older poems of larger size.[31] The works of this versatile genius are "didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rehetoric and prosody."[32] Kalāvilasa, Deśopdeśa, Samyamatrika and Narmāmālā belong to the first category. Hypocrisy of various kinds is fully exposed in these works.[33] Kalāvilasa exposes the tricks of rogues and traders and Samyamātrika exposes the snares of courtezans.[34]

Kṣemendra's object in criticising the society, was to suggest the need of reform. By his time society had deteriorated and Buddhists due to uncongenial atmosphere were leaving the valley. He pointed out the social abuses, and tried to remove the ill feelings between Buddhists and non-Buddhists. He had great liking for Buddhist ideals and social customs which he tried to impress upon the public through Avadānkalpalatā stories.[35]

Kṣemendra wrote Brahat-Kathamanjari in his youth. It is a peculiar tale of Suryaprabhā who from royal rank became the empress of Vidyadharas. In it are blended popular story matter with Buddhist legends and mythology, involving vedic and Epic beliefs.[36]

Auchitya Vicharacharachā--It is a treatise on rehetoric. Renunciation,[37] compassion,[38] detachment[39] and hatred for sex

30. *Būhler's Report*,p. 45.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
32. Dr. S.C. Ray, *Early History & Culture of Kashmir*, p. 179.
33. M. Kaul, *Desho. & Narma*, Intro., p. 24.
34. *Būhler's Report*, p. 46.
35. D.D. Pandey, *Mani Churamani Avadāna*, Intro., p. 1.
36. Keith, *H.S.L.*, p. 27.
37. A.V. Charcha, vv. 16, 18, 'वैराग्यमेवाभयम्' (v. 16)
38. *Ibid.*, v. 12. 'त्यागोदग्रमिवैश्यं शीलोज्जवलमिवश्रुतम्
39. *Ibid.*, v. 16.

life,[40] are clearly preached in the examples. Kṣemendra gives preference to renunciation over passion[41] and shows life as dynamic.[41] He quotes examples of compassion or pity from his Munimatmimansa and makes horses, stones and even birds cry over Subhadrā's wailings.[53]

Charucharya contains one hundred ślokas, which express his depth of admiration for Hindu religion and the principles of Buddhism. They are a code of morality to be followed by man in the different stages of life. Ahimsa, love for animal life,[44] love for Buddha and the quality of helping each other are propagated.[45] It seems that through this narrative the poet tried to reform the corrupt society by bringing forth the best of Hinduism, Shaivism and Buddhism.

In Daśavatār Charitam Kṣemendra describes ten avatārs of Vishnu. Buddha is shown one of the avatārs and his life is told as in Buddhist works with tolerable accuracy.[46] Buddha as Vishnu incarnate is an old belief in Kashmir. But Kṣemendra is the first writer who mentions it.[47]

Narmāmālā : It is a satiric sketch of a Kayastha's life and depicts the low-tone of moral discipline in the society. Kayastha or the clerk's life is teeming with jokes. His wife in proportion to her riches bids fare-well to the sense of morality. She is entangled with one Matha-Daiśika and a Śramanika plays the go-in-between.[48]

One of the most prominent works of Kṣemendra is Avadankalpalata, written in 1052 A.D. It contains 108 Pallavas. It is the collection of Jātaka stories and the poet got the inspiration from the Buddhists named Sajjnananda Takk and Virbhadra. Kṣemendra died after writing 107 palla vas,[49] and

40 *Ibid.*, v. 18.
41. *Ibid.*, v. 18.
42. *Ibid.*, v. 23. क्षिप्रंक्षयंजीवितम्
Ibid., v. 18. मत्तागंनापागं भंगिलोलं हि जीवितम्
(Kṣemendra quotes Byasa)
43. *Ibid.*, v. 16.
44. *Charucharya*, vv. 29, 50. 'त्यजेत्मृगया व्यसनं हिंसाया' (v.29)

his son Somendra wrote the 108th pallava.[50] All these stories (Avadānas) are woven round Buddhist ideals of charity, Ahiṁsa or mercy and Dharma. The Buddhist doctrine of Karma, and the tendency to self sacrifice is brought to climax in this collection of Avadānas.

The Kathasaratsagar of Somadeva (1063-1081 A.D.) written for the amusement of Suryamati, the queen of king Ananta,[51] shows perceptible influence of Buddhistic ideas. It is not an original work, but is taken from Gunaḍya's Brihatkathā. Somadeva and Kṣemendra are said to have used the same text of Brihatkatha, but independent of each other.[52] In Kathasaratsagar Buddhists traits are very many, but sporadic. A number of tales narrate the action of Karmāṅ in determining man's life. The legend of a prince who tears his one eye because women admired his beauty is parallel to the Mittavindaka Jātaka.[53] The legends of Vetalpancavinćatika show distinct Buddhist traits.[54] The story of Jimuhat Vāhana maintains the Buddhists ideals of compassion and self-sacrifice to save others.[55]

45. *Charucharya*, v. 89.
परोपकारं संसार सारं कुर्वीत सत्त्ववान् ।
विदधे भगवान् बुद्धः सर्वसत्त्वोद्धृतोधियम् ॥
46. *Daśvatar Charitam* (Ed. by Pt. Durga Prasad), 9th Avatar.
47, *Bühler's Report*, p. 47.
48 M. Kaul, *Deso.* '*Narma.*, Intro., p. 17.
Śramanika is a Buddhist female mendicant.
49. Dr. Gaur, *Acharya Kṣemendra*. p. 4.
50. Nariman, *History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, p. 62 ;
D.D. Pandey, Mani Churamaniavadāna, Intro., p. I ;
Dr. Gaur, Acharya Ksemendra, p. 4.
Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 293-94.
Somendra added 108th narrative (Jimutavahana Avadāna), and he used the Brihatkathamanjari, IX. 18-1221 and Harsha's drama Naganda (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 294, ft. 1).
51. *Bühler's* Report, p, 50 ;
Keith, *H.S.L.*, p. 29.
52. *Penzer*, Vol. I, pp. XXXII-XXXIII.
53. Keith, *H.S.L.*, p. 285.
54. *Ibid*.
55. *Penzer*, Vol. VII, pp. 49-63

Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangiṇi, the history of the kings of Kashmir, is full of sympathy for Buddhism. The author not only approves of the doctrine of Ahiṁsa or non-injury of life enforced by some of the kings, but he has lavished unstinted praise upon Buddhist Vihāras and stūpas founded for the benefit of Buddhists. He considers the destruction of wicked person lawful on the plea that Buddha too slew a snake who killed living beings.[56] He commends the story of Kritya. He writes with sorrow that during the great fire in Srinagar only one statue of Buddha escaped destruction.[57] In short Buddhist ideals and monuments receive great regard at the hands of Kalhaṇa.

Damodar Gupta

Although there could hardly be any influence of Buddhism on Damodar Gupta's Kuṭṭanimatam Kavyam on account of the theme with which this work is concerned, yet it is interesting to note that even such a work is not immune from Buddhistic phraseology. For example, the poet has used the expression 'Sugat' (which is an epithet of Buddha) in describing the beautiful gait of a maiden.[58]

Folks-Tales of Kashmir

The influence of Jātakas and the anecdotes of Budhha's life in which moral couragc and fortitude are examplified in a

56. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 2234.
57. *Rajat.*, VIII. v. 1184. This is Parihaspura statue built by King Lalitaditya (*Rajat.*, VII. v. 1097).
58. *Kuṭṭanimat.*, v. 265. 'अभिमत सुगतावस्थितिरभिनन्दित'
Kuṭṭanimat., v. 777. 'सुगतोऽपि नाजिविमुखो'
Sugata is an epithet for Buddha (studies in Lankāvatār Su. (Suzuki), p. 453).
It is interesting to note that Dr. S. C. Ray in his book 'The Early History and culture of Kashmir' writes that Damodar Gupta has discussed the condition of society in Kashmir, despite the fact the poet has clearly mentioned that he was writing about Banaras. See verses 3-20 ; 565.

remarkable manner, find a place in the folk lore of the country.[59]

In the folk-tales of Kashmir, "The Story of Jackal King" can be compared with Jātaka tale No. 241 (Jātaka Book Vol; II, p 293).[60] 'The story of Charmed King' resembles the Dadhīvāhana Jātaka No. 186 (Favsbööll also 291, vide Buddhist birth stories, pp. XVI-XXI).[61] Good King Hatim's story can be compared with Buddhist birth stories.[62] In Hatim's tales, 'the tale of merchant' No. 3—resembles the Jātaka tale where the queen Kinnara falls in love with a "loathsome, misshapen Cripple,"[63] and 'The tale of a King,' where the king orders the hearts of his two sons to be taken out and presented to their step-mothers, resembles the story of Aśoka's queen and his son Kuṇāla in the Buddhist literature.[64]

Buddhism exercised a great influence not only on the people of the valley but also upon those who went there for a temporary stay. One of the most notable case is that of Aṣvaghosha.

Aṣvaghosha was a resident of Sāketa (Ayodhya or Awadh) and belonged to a Brahman family.[65] He was a literary giant and was well-versed in grammar, the four Vedas, six treatises on Vedangas, conversent with Tripitakas of 18 schools of Buddhism and a laureate of literature. Due to his literary genius, he was invited by Katyayānīputra to Kashmir.[66]

59. S.C. Dass, *Indian Panḍits in the Land of Snow*, 1893, p. 21.
60. Knowles, *Folk-tales of Kashmir*, p. 260.
61, *Ibid.*, pp. 20-28.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-15.
63. Stein & Grierson, *Hatim's Tales*, Intro., p. XXXII.
64. Stein & Garierson, *Hatim's Tales*, Tale No. VIII, Intro., p. XXXII.
65. Keith, *H.S.L.*, p. 11 ;
Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, 257.
Toung Pao, Vol, V, p. 278;
Bib. Indica, Work No. 192, p. XXII.
66. *Toung Pao*, Vol. V, 278.

Where he compiled the Vibhāṣas or 1,000,000 verses and gave them literary form.[67]

He is known as the third president of the Buddhist Council held in Kashmir during the days of Kanishka. The first President was Parśva, the second Punya-Yaṣas and the third was Aṣvaghosha.[68] He is known as the preceptor of Kanishka.[69]

Aṣvaghosha's Kavyas are influenced by the tradition of Theravāda, the Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsanghika School of Buddhism.[70] Sūtra Pitaka served as the only Buddhist authority for him.[71] He expounded the noble eight-fold path, meaning the middle path, as the way of Salvation.[72] It is thoroughly in keeping with the Sūtras and Śāstras which were authority for him.[73] He is known as the 12th Buddhist patriarch[74] and the founder of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[75]

He has dealt with all the important Mahāyāna ideas, though many of them are not in developed form. The theory of void or 'Śuṇyavāda' the two kinds of truth, practical and pure are also there. They were developed by his successor Nagarjuna. Aṣvaghosha has developed the theory of Dharmakāyā in both aspects : (1) The aspect of absolute, universal,

67. *Ibid.*, p. 278 ;
Eliot, *Hindu & Budd.*, Vol. II, p. 79.
68. H.P. Sastri, *Adv. Vajra Sang* , Intro., p. XXI.
69. *Ibid.*, p. XV ;
Bib. Indica, No. 192, preface, p. XXI ;
S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 70 ;
Catal. of Skt. Mss. (A.S.B. 1917), Vol. I, p. IV.
70. B.C. Law. *Aṣvaghosha*, p. 55.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
72. R, Kimura, *Hina & Maha. Budd.*, p. 159 ;
B.C. Law, *Aṣvaghosha*, p. 73.
73. B.C. Law, *Aṣvaghosha*, p. 73.
74. B. Bhattacharya, *Tattvasangraha*, p. LXVIII ;
Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIX, Intro., p. XXX ;
Nanjio Catal, Appendix I, p. 369.
75. Nariman, *History of Skt. Budd.*, p. 28.
Those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahāyāna Sūtras are called the Mahāyānists (*I-Tsing*, Takakusu, p. 14).

unchanging and unchangeable. (2) The Saṁsāra *i.e.* the aspect of phenomenality changeableness momentriness and birth and death. Aṣvaghosha has also given some idea of the three Kāyās, Dharma Kāyā, Sambhoga Kāyā, and Nirmaṇa Kāyā.[76]

At the Buddhist Council held in Kanishka's time, a few Mahāyānists were also present. They could not impress much. Sometimes after the assembly, Aṣvaghosha took up their cause and wrote many works on Mahāyāna Buddhism. His most important Mahāyāna works are Sradotpada Sūtra and Sūtralankāra.[77]

Sraddotpada Sūtra is not found in Sanskrit, but its Chinese translation has been put in English garb. All the points where Mahāyāna excelled Hināyāna are discussed in it. The twenty sects of Aśoka's time are also dealt with and are called Hināyāna.[78] It disproves the theory that Nagarjuna was the founder of Mahāyāna Buddhism and shows that "Aṣvaghosha was the first great writer of the system, and Nargarjuna preached it."[79]

Sūtralankāra is known to us through Tibetan translation. Aṣvaghosha has turned the tale into an instrument for propagating Buddhist faith.[80] Its stories, numbers thirteen and fourteen, show that Kanishka had passed away when they were written.[81] The seventy-sixth story mentions the monastery of Rāvata situated in Kashmir. Nagarjuna's Mahaprajñaparamita Shāstra gives an account of the monastery.[82]

According to Chinese translation by Kumarjiva (405 A.

76. H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vajra Sang.*, p. XXII.
77. *Ibid.*, p. XXI.
78. H.P. Sastri, *Adv. Vajra Sang.*, Intro., p. XXI.
79. *Ibid.*, p. XV.
80. Keith, *H.S.D.*, p. 80.
81. S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 73.
82. Nariman, *History of Skt. Budd.*, pp. 194-195; Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. I, p. 260.

D.) Sūtralankāra was written by Aṣvaghosha[83] and according to Lūders it was written by Kumarjiva.[84]

Cariputra Prakarṇa. It is a drama and the theme is based upon Buddhist allegory. Its characters are Kīriti (fame), Dhṛti (firmness) and Buddhi (Wisdom).[85] Lūders found the Mss. from Turfan, on palm-leaves. It is clear from the Mss. that Aṣvaghosha's mother's name was Suvarṇākshi, and the drāmā of Ċaradvaliputra Prakarṇa consisted of nine Acts.[86] Gandi-Stotra-Gāthā is a small poem of twenty-nine stanzas, written in praise of Gandi, a Buddhist monastery gong. One of the stanzas shows that it was composed in Kashmir at a much later time.[87]

It is unknown to us from Indian sources.[88] Its Chinese translation appears in Nanjio Catalogue No. 1081, where the title given is Ghanti (ka) Sanskrita-stotra or Ghanti-Sūtra.

Buddha-Charita gives the story of Buddha in a simple and impressive Kavya style. It is preserved in Chinese as well,[89] and was translated in 414-42 A.D.[90] It is an integral part of the Vinayapitaka of Dharmagupta sect, which like the Sarvāstivāda seceded from the Mahaśasakas, a typical Hināyāna denomination.[91]

83. S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 72 ; *Nanjio Catal.*, No. 1182 ; *Nanjio Catal*, Appendix I, p. 369.
84. S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 72.
85. S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 77 ; Keith, *H.S.D.*, p. 84.
86. Keith, *H.S.D.*, p. 80.
87. S.K. Dey, *H.S.L.*, p. 71 ;
88. *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 752.
89. *Nanjio Catal.*, No. 1351.
90. *Ibid.*, Appendix I, p. 369.
91. *Nanjio Catal.* No. 1351. B.C. Law, *Aṣvaghosha*, p. 6. Aṣvaghosha created Buddha-Charitam from the early episodes preserved in Lalitavistāra (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 256).

Saundarnanda gives Buddha's detailed instructions to convert his step-brother Nanda to Buddhism.

Both (Buddha-Charita and Saundarnanda) the Kavyas deal with Hinäyäna. There is not even the slightest trace of Mahäyäna doctrine.[92] In Buddha-Charita Aṣvaghosha has used all sorts of Buddhist terms. In Saundarnanda he has expounded Buddhist philosophy in simple language.[93] From Saundarnanda he seems to belong to the early school of Mahäyänic Yogaćära. He often speaks of the practice of Yoga and the word Yogaćära, is used twice in his works.[94]

Besides the books named above Asvaghosha wrote Vajraśuchi, Anätamaväda, a sūtra on ten Akuśala Karma, on the relation between Guru and Śisya and on Sadgati or six stages of existence. The Chinese translation of his last small four works is also available.[95] Rhys Davids holds that Aṣvaghosha wrote in Sanskrit for the first time in the history of Buddhism.[96]

Bhavabhuti who was brought to Kashmir by king Lalitaditya from Kanauj,[97] has just hinted at the degenerated life of the Buddhist nuns in his Mälti-Mädhava. Kämandki, a Buddhist nun makes Mälti and Mädhava's love a success by acting as a go-in between.[98]

92. B.C. Law, *Aṣvaghosha*, p. 6.
93. B.C. Law, *Aṣvaghosa*, preface, p. 6. *Saundarnandam*, XVI. 28 ; XVI 29, III, 11.
94. *Bib. Indica*, No. 192, p. XII ; *Saundarnandan*, XIV, v. 19, XV. v. 68.
95. H.P. Sastri, *Adv. Vajra Sang.*, p. XXI.
96. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, 1950, pp. 208-209.
97. R.C. Datt, *Ancient India*, Vol. III, pp. 149-150; V.A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed. 1914, p. 372 ; *Rajat.*, IV. vv. 135, 144.
98. *Mälti Mädhava* Acts I-X ; S.K. Dey, *H.S.D.*, p. 281.

Yūz Āsaf

He was supposed to be the descendant of Moses. The ruler of Egypt sent him to the court of Zain-ul-Abdin. He wrote Zūs Āsaf in Arabic. "The characters can be read as Buddhisattvas."[99]

Asokan Legends and the changes introduced in Kashmir

The Aśokan legends were drafted at Kauśambi, compiled at Mathura and radiated towards the South-West and Kashmir.[100] Aśokasūtra written at Kauśambi, Aśokavadāna at Mathura, Avadänkalpalata at Kashmir and Śravakapitaka at Champa, are the different expressions of Aśokan legends in different rigions.[101]

Asokavadāna was composed about a century before Kanishka (150 B.C.-100 B.C.) by a monk of Mathura belonging to Mulsrvästivädin School.[102] It is known to us from the Chinese versions A-yu-Wang-Chuan and A-yu-Wang-King which are probably complete versions. Besides long fragments have been incorporated in Sanskrit Divyävadäna and in Tsa-a-han-king Chinese translation of Saṁyuktagama the original of which is lost.[103]

The author of Aśokävadäna deals with the struggle between the good and the evil or Buddha and Māra. In the end Māra is converted and no longer torments the desciples of Buddha.[104]

After Sakyamunä's Pari-Nirväṇa two orders of events influence powerfully the development of Buddhism in its early stages: the Councils and Patriarchate.[105]

99. Sufi, *Kashir.*, Vol. I, p. 40.
100. *L.E.A.*, pp. 123-124.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-112. In Kashmir they were put in verse by Kṣemendra.
102. *Ibid.*, Intro., p. VII, pp. 14-16 ; 172.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20 and fn. 2, p. 2.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.
105. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

During Mathura phase devotion to Annanda was probably more fervent than during the Kashmirian period. The journey of Buddha to the West is preserved in two redactions of different ages. According to Aśokāvadāna which gives ancient version, the Buddha went to Mathura first and then to Kashmir accompanied by Ananda. During the Kashmirian epoch this story was resumed and developed by a compiler of Vinya of Mūl-Sarvāstivāda who pushes Ananda aside almost completely and substitutes him by Yaksha Vajrapāṇi.[106]

In Aśokavadāna Upagupta is a disciple of Ṡanvasa (Sanika) and both are the apostles of Mathura region. In Vinaya of Mul-Sarvāstivāda Ananda says to bhikshu Ṡanika (Sanvasa) that he would convert Upgupta the son of Gupta a perfume seller of Mathura. But the Vinaya contradicts itself in the story of the journey to North-West. There a prophecy is attributed to Buddha, that Madhyantika will convert Upgupta and make him a bhikshu.[107] Madhyantika is the apostle of Kashmir. By making him the master of Upgupta, who was the great saint of Mathura, the Vinaya has clearly established the superiority of the Kashmirian Church. Moreover it is clear that Kashmirian compilers knew an ancient text, similar to that of Aśokavadāna. They have knowingly altered it in order to exalt their land at the expense of Mathura.[108]

Kunālsūtra (Probably written under Kushans)

During the Kashmirian epoch the legend of Aśoka is found to be characterised by the pre-eminence of two ancient personages. Dharamavivardhana (another name of Kuṇāla) the son of Aśoka who becomes the equal of his father, and Yaśas who appears as a layman instead of a monk whose role as a

106. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

107. Le-Nord-Ouest de l' Inde, J.A. 1914, II, p. 531, 519 quoted in *L.E.A.*, p. 4.

108. *L.E.A.*, pp. 4-5.

virtuous counseller is changed into that of an impious minister.[109]

Transported to North-Western region, the Aśoka-saga was greatly altered, yet not to the extent that would make the relationship between the Aśokavadāna and Kuṇālsūtra non-recognizable.[110]

In Mahāvaṁṣa Aśoka is the viceroy of Ujjayini during his youth, Aśokasūtra and Kunalsūtra make him start his career at Gandhāra. In parallel manner, Mahinda (Mahindra) the son of Aśoka is seen receiving ordination and afterwards introducing Buddhism in Ceylon, in Siṅghalese chronicles. In the Kuṇālsūtra Dharmavivardhana, the son of Aśoka spreads his doctrine in Gandhāra and ends his days as a monk.[111]

In Ekottarāgama, the Law comprises of Ṡāstras of alms-giving, Prohibitions and Re-birth in heaven, as well as the four truths.[112]

The contrast between the chapters of Aśokavadāna on the conversion of Upgupta in which only Nirvāṇa desiring Arhats have a role and the last chapter of A-yu-Wang-Chuan in which laity principally figures is striking. In the former preference is given to spiritual elite and in the latter to the humblest elements in the Church viz. the women the poor and the

109. *L.E.A.*, pp. 112-115. It adds :
In Kuṇālsutra Sumanas cures the son of Aśoka of blindness, and has usurped the place of Yaśas. Narrative 16 of Sutralaṁkara which was a late addition to Divyavadāna describes the character of Yaśas, as a heretic without faith. (Sut. Huber, p. 91 quoted in *L.E.A.*, p. 115). In Aśokavadāna Aśoka's son remains blind, 45th story of Kuṇālsūtra relates the story of his recovery. Sutralaṁkara is written on an analogous theme, where the blind son of the king of China, at the suggestion of a Takshāśila merchant, is sent to Gandhāra and is cured and converted by the monk Ghośa (Sut. Huber, p. 216, quoted in *L.E.A.*, pp. 112-114).

110. *L.E.A.*, p. 115.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

Śramanas. In the last chapter of A-yu-Ẃang-Chuan the personages are however seen acquiring merit by such simple means as singing the praise of Law, by observing correct demeanour, and above all by a generous gift of alms. Thus the principle characters of the works of Kashmirian period are assembled together in the last chapter of A-yu-Ẃang-Chuan. Placed as an appendix, at the end, it keeps in the background the entire content of the ancient Aśokavadāna in a just perspective. "It offers an outline of the great directing principles, which had during Kashmirian period, profoundly transformed the doctrine and instilled a new orientation into Buddhism."[113]

113. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-218.

CHAPTER IX

KASHMIRI MONKS IN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

Kashmir has been a meeting place of different nations.[1] North of it is Tibet, and to its north-east is the Russian and Chinese Turkistan. Due to its geographical situation it was in the ancient and middle ages a commercial centre between India and Central Asia. A large number of coins found here bear a testimony to this fact.[2] Despite the difficulty of its route through Kashghar,[3] the wandering pilgrim-monks took the philosophical ideas beyond its boarders and attracted foreign pilgrims and students to Kashmir and subsequently to India. Yuan-Chwang is right in saying that "Kashmir is one of the most important and most famous lands in the spread and development of Buddhism."[4]

China's Debt to Kashmir

The credit of spreading Buddhism in China mainly goes to a number of enterprising Kashmiri scholars.[5] But it is difficult to say as to when Buddhism made its first appearance

1. Eliot, *Hinduism & Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. XXV.
2. R.C. Kak, *Anc. Monu.*, p. 50.
3. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 3.
4. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol., p. 264.
5. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 1-2.

in that country. There are conflicting dates given by modern scholars, but these are based on conjectures. It is, however, definite that Buddhism reached China before the beginning of the Christian era.[6] The definite step taken in that connection was that of taking a golden image of Buddha by Indian monks[7] probably of Kashmiri design to that country.

The first Kashmiri monk to go to China was Sanghabhuti. He reached the Chinese capital in 381 A.D. and remained there till his death. He translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The most important of his works was the commentary on Vinya Pitaka (disciplinary Code) of Sarvāstivāda School.[8] His translation of Arya-Vasumitra-Bodhi-Dattva-Sangiti-Śāstra, done in 384 A.D., is available in Chinese.[9]

The next name is that of Kumarjiva. After receiving his education in Kashmir, he achieved international reputation of a great teacher of Buddhist doctrines.[10] The Chinese emperor Fu-Kien requested the Kuci King through Po-Chuen-an envoy, to send Kumarjiva to China. As the Kuci King

6. The various dates given may be summarised as under :
   (i) Ramsuat's *Foe Koueki*, p. 41 gives 2nd year B.C.
   (ii) Chao-Pu-Chu, *New Ties Amongst Buddhists*, (an essay borrowed from the Chinese Embassy, Delhi, 1956), before the beginning of Chr. era.
   (iii) Waddell, gives 61 A.D.
   (iv) S. Kuroda, *Outlines of Maha.*, Intro., p., ii ;
   I-Tsing, *Takakusu*, Intro., p. XVII ; Radhakrishnan, *India and China*, 1944, p. 26 ; P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 26, give 67 A.D.
   (v) Roy Chou., *Pol. History of Ancient India*, p. 478, gives 61-68 A.D.
7. S.C. Dass., *Ind. Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 24.
8. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 35.
9. *Nanjio Catal.* No. 1289.
10. K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 28.

showed reluctance, the Chinese emperor attacked and defeated him and forcibly took Kumarjiva to China,[11] in 385 A.D.[12]

Kumarjiva (a Kashmiri) was the first to preach Mahāyāna form of Buddhism in China in a systematic manner, though the system had originated much earlier in India.[13] The Chinese King appointed him Raj Guru and asked him to translate the Buddhist scriptures into the Chinese language. He placed 800 scholars on his staff to carry the project to completion. As a result 106 works were translated ; most of them belonged to Mahāyāna School.[14] Of these only 56 works are available at present. Kumarjiva's only original works are :- (1) a treatise on Tattva in two chapters and (2) a commentary on Vimalakīrtī Sūtra.[15] His translation 'Prjña Paramita Hridya' which Kumarjiva himself followed and which was followed by a large number of people in China is very famous.[16] In 405 A.D. Kumarjiva translated Daṣabhumi-Vibhāṣa-Śāstra, a commentary on Daṣabhumi Sūtra by Nagarjuna, and in 430 A.D. he translated Aṣvaghosha's Sutralaṁkara Śāstra.[17] He translated Saddharma Pundrika, 'the lotus of the good law.' Even today no book is more

11. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 61 ;
    K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 28 ;
    Bagchi, *India and Asia*, pp. 47-48
12. Rahulji, *Yatra-ke-panne*, p. 191 ;
    Radhakrishnan, *India and China*, 1944, p. 27 ;
    K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 28.
    The different dates given are : Kumarjiva reached China in 401 A.D. (P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 61 ; S. Kuroda, *Outlines of Mahayana*, p. 23).
    Kumarjiva reached China in 408 A.D.
    (S.C. Dass, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 32).
13. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 103 ;
    K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 30.
14. K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 30.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.
16. K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 31. It is added, that Prajña literature is assigned to one of Buddha's disciples Sūbhuti. It forms the base of Mahāyāna. Kumarjiva's translations included 5 prajña works.
17. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 142 ;

popular in China than this work.[18] Kumarjiva translated Satyasiddhi-Śāstra or more correctly Tattva Siddhi Śāstra, the work of Harivarman, a famous Kashmiri teacher of Sarvāstivāda, in the beginning of 5th Century A.D.[19]

Kumarjiva is known as a great translator and his style is more appreciated than that of the great Chinese writer, Yuan-Chwang.[20]

Kiu-tan Seng-kia-ti-po or Gautama Sanghadeva or community god (in Chinese translation), was a Buddhist monk of Kashmir who went to China in or about 384 A.D.[21] He remained in North China upto 391 A.D. and then went to South China.[22] He was in China when Sanghabhuti was also there.[23] Gautama Sanghadeva translated the first of the seven Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma texts in collaboration with Fo-mien in 380 A.D.[24] Next he translated the Madhyamāgama Sūtra similar rather to Majjhima Nikāya or Hināyāna school named Kun-o-han-king (Chinese version),[25] the Abhidharma-Hridaya Śāstra in 391 A.D. and Tridharmaka-Śastra in 397-398 A.D.[26] In all he translated eight works in Chinese. One of these works was lost in 730 A.D.[27]

18. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 14 ;
K.M. Panikkar, *India and China*, p. 31.
Saddharma Puṇḍrika existed sometimes before 250 A.D. Its commentary was composed by Vasubandhu between C. 550-600 A.D. (*Saddharma Puṇḍrika*, Intro.. p. XXII).
19. *Nanjio Catal.* No. 1274.
Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 136.
20. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 60.
21. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 211-12 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 54.
22. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 211-212.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
25. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 54.
26. *Nanjio Catal* No. 1288.
P.N. Bose. *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 54.
27. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 211-212 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 54. He translated 7 books. (P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 54).

Two other Kashmiri scholars of repute were Punyatrātā and Dharmayaśas. Dharmayaśas was the pupil of Punyatrātā in Kashmir. He met his Gūrū at the age of 14. After gaining proficiency in Buddhism Dharmayaśas left for China in 397-401 A.D. and remained there till 424-453 A.D. There he translated a number of works with the help of his compatriots. After completing his work he most probably returned to Kashmir. We have no information whether the Guru and pupil went to China separately or together.[28]

Punyatrātā, worked in China in collaboration with Kumarjiva, in 404 A.D. It is just possible that he was in Kuċi when Kumarjiva was taken to China, and he followed him to China. At any rate he helped Kumarjiva in the work of translation.[29]

Vimalaksha was a famous Śramaṇa of Kashmir. Kumarjiva learnt Vinaya from him at Kuċi. When Kumarjiva was translating books in China his Guru met him there in 406 A.D. After Kumarjiva's death in 413 A.D. Vimalaksha went to South China and translated two works. Since 730 A.D. one of the works is not traceable and the surviving one is Dasādhāya-Vinaya-Nidana or preface to Dasādhya Vinaya. He (Vimalaksha) died in 418 A.D. at the age of 77.[30]

Shakyashri Bhadra, another Kashmiri monk, went to China in 405 A.D. He was an exponent of logic. He wrote seven Buddhist works. He translated several Tibetan works in Sanskrit.[31]

Buddhajiva or Fo-to-She, was a follower of Mahiśāska School and a teacher of Vinaya in Kashmir.[32] He went to

28. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 36-37.
29. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 37.
Punyatrātā and his pupil Dharmayaśas went to China in 397 A.D. (Radhakrishnan, *India and China*, p. 27).
30. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 69.
31. A. Kaul, *The Kashmir's Pandits*, p. 29.
32. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 205 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 73.

China and reached Nanking in 423 A.D.[33] He translated three works of his own school in Chinese between 423-424 A.D.[34] and helped Fa-hein in translating Sanskrit manuscripts which he had brought from India. Out of three Vinaya translations one is lost and two Mahiśaska Vinya and Pratimoksha of Mahiśaska are available. He seems to have remained in China till his death.[35]

Dharma Mitra, another monk from Kashmir, reached China in 424 A.D. and translated Buddhist works in Chinese upto to 441 A.D. His translation of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva-dharni-Sūtra is still famous, while six of his other works are still known and are available. He died in 442 A.D. at the age of 87.[36]

Bhuddabhadra, a Kashmiri scholar, translated into Chinese Avataṁśaka of Mahāyāna literature in the beginning of the fifth Century A.D. Its text Buddhavataṁśaka Mahāvai-pulva-Sūtra consists of sixty chapters.[37]

Bhudhavarman or Fou-to-po-mo or Fo-to-po-mo was probably a Kashmiri. He was a specialist in Vibhāṣa. A little before 433 A.D. he went to China and translated Maha-vibhāṣa-śāstra in sixty chapters between 437-439 A.D.[38]

Gunabhadra, a Kashmiri monk, went to China and translated Samyktāgama in 420-427 A.D.[39]

Buddhayaśas, known as Fo-to-She (in Chinese), was a Brahman of Kashmir and was converted to Buddhism at the

33. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 39 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 73.
34. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 205 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 73.
35. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 73 ;
Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 39.
36. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 73.
37. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 140.
38. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 206.
39. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 133.

age of twenty-seven. He travelled in Central Asia, and at Kumarjiva's invitation went to Changngam. He translated four works in Chinese two of which were Dirghāgma and Dharmagupta Vinaya.[40] Besides these he translated Abhid-harma-prakaraṇapāda (śāstra) of Vasumitra, with the help of Gunbhadra. Having completed his work between 410-413 A.D., he returned to Kashmir.[41]

Guṇvarman known as Kiu-na-pa-mo in Chinese trans-literation and Kong-to-Kai in Chinese translation, belonged to the royal family of Kashmir.[42] He became Śrāmaṇa at the age of twenty and acquired so much knowledge of Buddhism that he became known as 'Master of the Law' or 'The Master of the Tripitaka.' When he was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died issueless. Guṇvarman was offered the crown, but he rejected the offer and soon after went to Ceylon where he preached the Dharma. From Ceylon he went to Java[43] on the same mission.

The emperor of China invited Gunvarman to his country. Being induced by the Chinese monks, he left Java and reached Nanking in 431 A.D. The emperor honoured him and accom-modated him in Jetavana Vihāra, where Guṇvarman died at the age of sixty-five.[44]

Guṇvarman translated eleven Sanskrit works into Chinese.[45] He expounded and preached Saddharma Puṇḍrika at Nanking and did much to advance the spiritual welfare of the people.[46] He organised a Sangha of Chinese nuns for the

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 206.
41. *Nanjio Catal.* No. 1292 ;
Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 133, 206.
42. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 39, 212 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 75.
43 Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 39 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, pp. 75-76.
44. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 40, 212 ;
P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 81.
45. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 40, 212.
46. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, pp. 79-80.

first time.[47] Buddhism, which had gained strength in China with the appearance of Kumarjiva, received great impetus with the arrival of Gunavarman.[48]

Dharmamitra, another Kashmiri scholar and teacher of the doctrine of meditation, first went to Kuci. As the officials of Kuci did not allow him to go to China, he left the land secretly and reached Tun-huang. There he founded a monastery and planted more than one thousand trees. In 424 A.D. he went to China and stayed in Jetavana Vihāra upto 433 A.D. Perhaps here he met Gunvarman in 431 A.D. Dharmamitra introduced a number of works on meditation in China. He died in Jetavana Vihāra in 442 A.D.[49]

Ratancinta or Adisena or A-mi-chen-na, was a Kashmiri Buddhist monk belonging to Kṣatriya family. He went to China in 693 A.D. and was accommodated in Tien-Koansee monastery (The monastery of India) which he himself founded.[50] He translated seven Sanskrit works into Chinese between 693-706 A.D. He was a scholar of Vinaya. He died at the age of one hundred in 721 A.D.[51]

Prajña, known as Pan-jo-li in transcription and Che-hui in Chinese translation, was a Kashmiri Buddhist monk. He was popular by the name of Pan-jo-li. He received his education in Kashmir and Nālanda and went to China by sea route in 781 A.D. He translated eight works in Chinese.[52]

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
Nineteen nuns came from Ceylon between 429-433 A.D. and ordained the first Chinese nuns (Chao-Pu-Chu, *New Ties among Buddhists*, 'Paper borrowed from Chinese Embassy', Delhi).
48. P.N. Bose, *The Indian Teachers in China*, p. 75.
49. Bagchi, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 40.
50. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 204.
51. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, pp. 115-16 ; Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 204.
52. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 217.

Tien-Si-Tsai

His original name is unknown.[53] He went to China in 977 A.D. and translated a number of Sanskrit works in Chinese[54] probably eighteen in number. He died in 999 A.D. According to one text, he was a Buddhist monk of Kashmir,[55] and according to another, he was a Śramana of Jalandhra.[56]

Suraj Gupta, a Kashmiri, worked as a preacher in China[57] and another Kashmiri monk, Mo-lo-She-ki, went to China in 1005 A.D.[58]

Besides these Kashmiri monks many other Indians went to China. The most notable Indian was Dharmaksha who reached China in 284 A.D. from Central Asia. He translated 211 books in Chinese. Of these 91 are still available.[59] After 1036 A.D. there is no mention of Indian monks going to China.[60]

These Kashmiri and Indian monks gave China Buddhism, Buddhist literature, Indian sculpture and painting, and "component parts of Indian civilization and culture."[61] Buddhism, influenced the aesthetic look of the Chinese. It introduced the doctrine of transmigration of the soul, "the idea of causality and the belief in reward and retribution."[62] Buddhism proved the most effective spiritual factor in the religions of China,[63] and taught the people of China to believe in the immortality of the soul.[64] The first Amitabha Sūtra was also, probably taken to

53. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
56. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 136.
Śramaṇa is a novice monk (J.A.S.B., Part I, 1891, p. 47).
57. A. Kaul, *The Kashmir's Pandit*, p. 29.
58. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 56.
59. Rahulji, *Yatrā Ke Panne*, p. 191.
60. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 57.
61. P.N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in China*, p. 145.
62. *Bapat, 2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 68.
63. Soothhill, *The Three Religions of China*, 1929, p. 254.
64. W.A.P. Martin, *The Lore of Cathay*, 1901, p. 253.

China by Buddhist priests from Nepal or Kashmir in 147 A.D.[65] The dancers of China "have their hair plaited and put on a Kaṣya of Chao-hia, a similar to the dress of monks."[66]

Tibet's debt to Kashmir

The credit of spreading Buddhism in Tibet goes mainly to Kashmiri monks, though the historians have divergent views about the date of its introduction. Cunningham opines that Kanishka sent 500 Kashmiri Arhats to Tibet to propagate Buddhism.[67] According to the Tibetan work Kah-gyur, Buddhism in Tibet was introduced in 367 A.D. in the reign of King Hlatori.[68] But it became popular in Tibet in 7th Century A.D. with the Tibetan King Srong Tsang Campos' two marriages, first with the Nepalese princess The-Chunu in 640 A.D. and then with the Chinese princess Kong-Jo in 641 A.D. Both the queens brought Buddhist monks, Buddhist books and Buddha's images with them to Tibet and both influenced their husband.[69] Under the advise of his queens the king sent for Buddhist monks from India, Nepal and China. As a result Kusara or Kumara and Shankar Varman from India, Śila Manju from Nepal and Tributa and Garuta from Kashmir came to Tibet.[70] The Nepalese queen erected the temple of Rasa-hphrul Snan-gi Tsung-log-Khan (Lhasa Cathedral) on the model of the monastery of Vikramśila of Magadha, and the Chinese queen erected the temple of Ramo-

65. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 38.
Amitabha is the fourth Dhyāni-Buddha and the other real form of Sakya-muni (Getty, The Gods of N. Budd. p. 26). Amitābha is Buddha in boundless light (Waddell, p. 12).
66. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 167.
67. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 131.
68. Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, 1906, p. X.
69. *Waddell*. pp. 20-21 ;
History of the Mongols, Part IV, p. 124 ;
Rahulji, *Yatrā Ke Panne*, p. 152 ;
Pag-Sam-Jong-Zang, Part II, pp. 167-169, Ed. by S.C. Dass, 1908, Contents, pp- VIII-IX.
Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, 1906, p. x.
70. *Waddell*, p. 21.

che.[71] It was with the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet that its history began and civilization entered amongst its people who had lived in barbaric darkness before 640 A.D.[72]

Srong-Detsan (740-786 A.D.),[73] the zealous Buddhist King of Tibet, founded many monasteries and invited Indian and Kashmiri scholars for translating Indian works into Tibetan. The Chief Indian translators were Vimal Mitra, Buddha Guhya, Śantigarbha, Vasuddhi Sinha, the Tantric Acharya Dharmakiriti; and the chief Kashmiri monks Jina Mitra, Dan-Śila and Ananda. They were assisted in the works of translation by Tibetan novices with Vairochna as their head.[74]

Padam Sambhava, belonging to Udayana, (a region in the neighbourhood of Ghazani) to the N.W. of Kaṣhmir was also invited. He reached Tibet in 749 A.D. and founded Lāmāism in that country.[75]

Another Kashmiri Pandit named Tuna (630-690 A.D.) translated with the help of Thon-mi and his disciples Dharma-koṣa and Lha-lung-rdo-rje-dpal, a number of Buddhist works in Tibetan.[76] Another Kashmiri monk named Ananta expounded the doctrine of Buddhism in Tibet.[77] He translated a number of Buddhist works in Tibetan during the reign of King Khri-Srong-Lde-Btsan in (802-842 AD)[78].

In the 9th Century a Kashmiri scholar Jina Mitra together with Sarvajñadeva, Dānaśila of India and a few other

71. *Pag-Sam-Jong-Zang*, Part II, Ed. by S.C. Dass contents, p. IX.
72. *Waddell*, p. 9.
The first Buddhist King of Tibet sent for holy scripture from India in 632 A.D. (Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 247).
73. *The History of the Mongols*, Part IV, p. 125.
74. *Waddell*, p. 30.
75. *Waddell*, p. 26 ;
Krishnam., *Tattvasangraha*, Vol. I, Intro., p. XI.
76. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 299.
77. *Tattvasangraha*, Vol. I, Intro., p. X.
78. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 302.

pandits went to Tibet and translated Sanskrit books in Tibetan language.[79]

Jina Mitra was a master of Vinaya of Ārya Mul-Sarvastivada School. He translated 'Pratimoksha' of his own school into Tibetan. This work is known as Patimoksha in Pāli, Pratimoksha in Sanskrit, So-Sor-Thor-pa in Tibetan and Po-lo-ti-no-ca in Chinese.[80] He translated many Sūtras as well.[81]

Pandit Somnath (1027 A.D.), a Kashmiri scholar, took Kālchakrayāna system to Tibet and translated it into Tibetan with the help of 'S-vai-od-Ser' or Grey-cho-Lakshmikar, Daushri and Chandra Rahul accompanied him to Tibet.[82]

The Kalchakrayāna system has influenced the religion and culture of Tibet. It is believed that it helps in attaining complete emancipation even in this birth.[83] "Ka means causality, la denotes absorption, or dissolution, Ca signifies the unstable mind, Kra stands for the chain of events or the process. Thus Kala comes to mean the state in which the 'original cause potency' has been absorbed. This is the state of Śūnyata and this is Prajña, Cakra on the other hand stands for the cycle of world process and this is the 'principle of knowability or the principle of Upāya. Thus Kālchakra signifies the absolute unification of Prajña and Upaya."[84]

Shama Bhat was another Kashmiri who went to Lhasa to preach Buddhism there.[85] Laksmik, ar, a Kashmiri Pandit, went

79. Satish Chandra, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI, 1915, pp. 29-30.
Sarvajñadeva and Dharmakara of Kashmir, Vidhyakaraprabha of India, assisted by Tibetan bands dpal-gyi-Ihunpo and dpal-brtsegs translated Sanskrit work Vinayavastu (Dul-va-gzi) or the basis of discipline or Education in four volumes. (KI K, GI, N) (*Waddell.* p. 160).
80. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI, p. 29-30.
Dul-va leaf 362, Alaxander Csomna, vide Asit. Res. XX., 1839, p. 85, says he translated five volumes of Dul-va in the nineth century.
81. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 379.
82. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, p. 37.
83. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1952, p. 73.
84. *J.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1952, p. 76.
85. A. Kaul, *The Kashmir's Pandit*, p. 29.

to Tibet and helped in translating Dandi's Kavyadarsh, Harshavardhan's Nāgānanda and Kṣemendra's Boddhisattva-Avadān-Kalapalatā in the Tibetan language.[86]

Ratnajiva was a Kashmiri scholar who preached Buddhism in Tibet. He wrote 14 books on Buddhism in Sanskrit and translated four Tibetan books in Sanskrit.[87]

Buddhśri another Kashmiri pandit was invited to Tibet by monk Akro-phu-lo-ch-v or Byams-p. Dapal of Tibet in 1200 A.D. The latter translated Abhisamyalaṅkārstika 'Pragyapradip' with the former's (Buddhiśri's) help.[88]

Śakyaśribhadra, a Kashmiri born in 1127 A.D., visited various centres of learning in India. In Nepal he met the great monk of Tibet Akro-phu-lo-ch-v. At the latter's request he went to Tibet in 1200 A.D. and stayed there for ten years. He did not write any books in Tibet, but had many disciples there. His famous disciples were Byang-Chhup-Dapal and Dage-u-Dapal or Shakyasena. In 1213 Śakyaśribhadra returned to Kashmir and died there in 1225 A.D. at the age of 98.[89] His disciples Vibhutichandra and Dānsheel, etc. remained in Tibet and the former translated many works in the Tibetan language.[90]

During the reign of Lha-sde's, Kashmirian Pandits visited Tibet and completed the translation of Aṣtashastrika.[91] According to Kh-yar-Bon a Kashmiri Pandit introduced Bon doctrine (mysticism) in Tibet.[92]

Not only did the Tibetan rulers invite Kashmiri learned

86. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, p. 48.
87. A. Kaul, *The Kashmir's Pandit*, p. 29.
88. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, p. 43.
89. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, pp. 43-44 ;
J.A.S.B., Vol. L, Part I, 1882, p. 238 gives 14th Century.
90. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, pp. 44-45.
91. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, p. 183 (Ed. by S.C. Dass), Part II Contents P, XVIII.
92. *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, Vol. L, 1881, p. 198.

monks to their land to help translating Buddhist works but Tibetans also came to Kashmir and stayed here for long periods and studied and translated scriptures.

Ravikīrti, born in 1055 A.D., came from Tibet and stayed in Kashmir for 23 years. He translated 'Āryadeva's Chatuśatak Shāstra, Chandarkīrti's Madhyamakavatār-Bhaṣya, Purñavardhana's Abhidharmkoṣatika 'Lakshñānusarīṇī,' Chandarkirti's Mūlmadhyakvriṭṭi 'Prassannapāda' into Tibetan language. His chief helpers in Kashmir were Pandit Kanakvarma and Tilaklush.[93] Gnorg, another Tibetan, came to Kashmir in 1073 A.D. and stayed here upto 1092 A.D. He translated Dharmakirti's famous work on Hyaya known as Pramaṇvartik. It was previously translated by Subhuti-shri-shanti and Dge-vai-blo-gros. With the help of Parhatbhadra, he translated Dharmakirti's famous works, Pramaṇvinicchya and Nyayabindu.[94]

Ladakh's debt to Kashmir

Aśoka's missionaries are believed to have penetrated into Ladakh and propagated Buddhism in about 250 B.C.[95] It is certain that Buddhism became firmly rooted in the land in the first cetury A.D., when Kanishka sent 500 Kashmirian missionaries for the propagation of the faith in Tibet.[96] Fa-hein is the earliest historical figure who noticed Buddhism in a flouring condition inLadakh in 400 A.D. According to Fa-hein the doctrine of Lesser Vehicle or Hināyāna form of Buddhism prevailed in Ladakh.[97]

Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang mentions many Kashmiri pandits who visited Ladakh and translated Buddhist works in the Tibetan

93. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, pp. 40-41.
94. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, pp. 39-40.
95. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, pp. 317-357 ; *Waddell*, p. 43.
96. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, pp. 317-357 ; *The Study of Chronicles of Ladakh*, pp. 104-105.
97. *Fa-hein*, Legge, 1886, pp. 23-25 ; Cunningham, *Ladakh*, p. 359. (Cunningham identifies Kia-Che with Ladakh, p. 359).

language. The royal lāmā (yeces Hod) tired of Tantric Buddhism, invitied Ratnavajra of Kashmir about 1025 A.D. to reform the faith.[93] The Tibetan king Lde-kri-btsan-brtan invited several Kashmiri pandits to Ladakh, who translated certain sacred works in the Tibetan language.[99]

Kashmir has not only given Buddhism and its literature to Ladakh and Tibet, but it has also contributed to its script. Thumi Sambhota or Thon-mi-Sam-bhota was sent by King Sron-Gampo to India for study. He composed a grammar for Tibetan language for which he brought the alphabet. In 7th Century (about 640 A.D.) he adopted a script for writing the Tibetan language which resembled Kashmir's script of that age.[100] "Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use of Kashmirian characters which remain unchanged to this day.'' The credit of introducing Devanāgarī alphabet of India into Tibet (in the first half of 7th Century A.D.) also goes to Kashmir.[101] Kashmir has influenced the alphabet and pronunciation of Ladakh and Tibet. Cunningham writes, as far as the printing of the primer is concerned, "The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet arranged according to Sanskrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirants complex. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanskrit names, as for instānce, the 'n' in padampāṇi. It is remarkable that the ch, chh and j have all got the mark, placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to ts, tsh, and ds. This I think, is direct proof that the Tibetans obtained their knowledge of Sansirit as well as their alphabet from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these letters in the above manner, as Pandsal or Panjāl."[102] Rahulji says,

98. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, p. 182. (Ed. by S.C. Dass), Part II, contents p. XV ; *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, 1891, p. 47.
99. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, p. 172 (Ed. by S.C. Dass) contents, pp. X-XII.
100. *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, p. 167 (Ed. by S.C. Dass), Part II contents, p. VIII ; Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, p. 7 ; *Waddell*, pp. 21-22.
101. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, 1854, Intro., p. 4.
102. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, pp. 392-93.
There are seven circles in the block and each circle contain some formulae. "Ch is used by Kashmiris to represent,s ; final l, m, n, r are usually pronounced as though they had a vowel added to them; w and b are sometimes convertable, Bāramūlā is known as Wāramula (Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 454).

Tibetan alphabet did not need so many vowels, so 'a' was left out and four other vowels 'i, u, e, O' were kept.[103]

Khotan's debt to Kashmir

According to Yuan-Chwang, Buddhism in Khotan came from Kashmir[104] and is was Sarvāstivāda Buddhism.[105] The date of the introduction of Buddhism in the land is still a controversy with modern writers. Buddhism in Khotan was introduced in the days of King Vijya-Sambhava, probably between 3rd Century B.C. and 2nd Century B.C.[106] Mahāyānā form of Buddhism was introduced in Khotan in the 4th Century A.D.[107] But by 3rd Century A.D. Khotan seems to have become an active centre of Buddhism as a Chinese monk, Chu-She-hing, came to Khotan to study the religion.[108] At the time of Fa-hein's (399-314 A.D.), and Yuan-Chwang's (629-645 A.D.) visit Mahāyānā form of Buddhism flourished in Khotan.[109] In 441 A.D. Kumarjiva studied Tripitaka of Sarvāstivāda and its Vibhāṣa at Kāshghar, which is on the gateway of Khotan.[110]

Yuan-Chwang relates a story of a Kashmiri monk Vairochna[111] who went to Khotan taking some relics of Buddha from Kashmir with him. The king of Khotan built the monastery of Tsar-ma for him. This was the first monastery in Khotan.[112]

103. Rahulji, *Tibet Men Buddha Dharma*, p. 7.
104. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, p. 296.
105. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 58 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, p. 301.
106. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*. p. 50.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 93-94.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
109. *Fa-hein*, Legge, 1886, p. 16 ;
Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, pp. 295, 301.
110. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 58.
111. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, p. 296.
112. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*. p. 51.
A monk Vairochna was also active in Tibet in 750 A.D. (Eliot, Hind Budd., p. 211).
Watters says that this Arhat Vairochna is not known to Buddhist scriptures, but is evidently the Bodhisattva Manjuśri of the Tibetan

Buddhism influenced the language of Khotan. The country had Kharoshti script from an early period to 3rd Century A.D. It was first ousted by Brahmi and then Prakrit, the sacred language of Sarvāstivāda School which had its Stronghold in Kashmir, was introduced. Subsequently Sanskrit also found its place in Khotan.[113]

In Khotan, Stein noticed several wooden houses and sheds where thousands of pigeons were maintained by pious endowments of travellers. They are believed to have been the offsprings of a pair of doves which miraculously appeared from the heart of Imam Shakir Padshah who died here in a battle with the infidals (the Buddhist of Khotan.)[114] Stein also noticed a pigeon Sanctuary in which pigeons kept were propitiated with food offerings by modern wayfarers. This according to him was a survival of a Buddhist legend. It is considered a pious local custom which the Muhammadens of this region had derived from their Buddhist ancestors.[115]

China, Tibet, Ladakh and Khotan are indebted to Kashmir for Buddhism, Buddhist literature, Indian script (not China) and civilization. It may be due to Kashmir's location, as it lies on a route from India to Central Asia and consequently has been a centre of men and ideas.' Many a Chiness and Tibetan invited scholars from India and Kashmir and gave them all respect and facilities. Not only this, the Mongol emperors Kuyonk and Mangu respected Watochi and Nammu the two Buddhist priests of Kashmir and Nammu was given the title of Tizzu, teacher of the Khan and the head of Buddhism in Mongolia[116]

books when he came as a man, to teach Tibetan Vernacular to the peasents and also to introduce Buddhism. The name of the monastery (Tsar-ma-Vihāra) is also of Tibetan Text (Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, p. 300).
113. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 58, 93-94.
114. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194-195.
115. Stein, M.A., *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 195-196.
116. *History of Mongols*, Part IV, p. 129.
It is said that Tibetan Vinaya belongs to Sarvastivada School of Buddhism which prevailed in Kashmir. (Wassilef Buddhismus, p. 96 quoted by Takakusu in *J.P.T.S.*, 1905, p. 71, fn.)

APPENDIX 'A'

Nothing definite is known about the dates of the birth and death of Nagarjuna of Kashmir. Writers have given conflicting dates, which it is so difficult to reconcile. According to Yuan-Chwang he was born in South Koṣāla or in the ancient province of Vidharbha[1] in 99 B.C.[2] A Coomarswamy is of the opinion that he must have been originally a Brahman, and lived about the end of 2nd Century A.D.[3] Kalhaṇa makes him the contemporary of Indo-Scythian King, Kanishka.[4] Kimura thinks he lived in the latter half of the 3rd Century A.D.[5] According to Shri Har Prasad Shastri, Nagarjuna flourished in the 2nd generation after Aṣvaghosha.[6] Aṣvagosha lived in the time of Kanishka,[7] so Nagarjuna must have flourished in the 1st and 2nd Century A.D. Bhattacharya, the editor of Mahāyāna-Vimṣaka opines that Nagarjuṇa who systematised Madhyamika philosophy lived in 2nd Century A.D., and the other Nagarjuna who is said to have been one of the 84 Siddhas lived in the first half of the 7th Century A.D.[8] Har

1. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, p. 204.
   Vidharbha is identified with Berar which has Nagpur as its present capital (Cunningham. *Ancient Geography*, p. 520).
2. Csoma's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 182, quoted by Cunningham in *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 282.
   Nagarjuna was born in the 1st Century A.D. (Rahulji, *Buddhacharya*, Intro., p. 4).
3. *Buddha and the Gospel of Budd.*, p. 244.
   Kumarjiva in 406 translating Nagarjuna's life into Chinese says, that Nagarjuna was born in Southern India in a Brahaman family (Winternitz, p. 342).
4. *Rajat.*, I. vv. 172, 173.
5. K. Kimura, *Hina and Maha. Budd.*, p. 161.
6. H.P. Shastri, *Sanskrit Mss. Catal.*, Vol. I, pp. IV, V.
7. Vide Chapter II of this thesis.
8. *Mahāyānavimṣaka* (Ed. by V. Bhattacharya), pp. 3-4.

Prasad Shastri writes that Nagarjuna wrote Prajñaparamita in the 2nd Century A.D.[9]

Saddharma Pundarika was written in 1st Century A.D. as it is quoted by Nagarjuna who probably lived at the end of 2nd Century A.D.[10]

Thus the consensus of opinion of scholars makes Nagarjuna live at the end of the 1st Century A.D. and the beginning of the 2nd Century A.D.

He was the founder of Madhyamika theory of Buddhism which has its essence the theory of Śunyavada.[11] "Nagarjuna is said to have recovered the Prajñapārmita (Aṣtasāstrika) from the neither world." According to Maittreyanatha's Abhisamyālankāra Karikas Pañcavinśatikasahastrika was a modification of his Aṣtāsāhastrika. The Pañcavinśatika was translated in Chinese between 265-316 A.D.[12]

Prajñaparamita on which Nagarjuna based his teaching, consist of "Mythical discourses attributed to Buddha and addressed mostly to supernatural hearers on the vulture peak."[13] Nagarjuna "one of the wonders and mystries of latter Buddhism,"[14] established the so called "Sahaja-marga as auxiliary religious practice."[15] This Sahaja-marga was in a more prosperous condition in Asanga and Vasubandhu's time. It inculcated only a recital of Buddha's name, according to Asanga's Mahāyāna Samparigra-ha-Śāstra.[16]

9. H.P. Shastri, *Adv. Vajra. Sang.*, Intro., pp. XXIII-XXIV.
10. Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, pp. 303-4.
11. *Bib-Indica*, No. 192, p. XIII ;
    R. Kimura, *Hina and Maha. Budd.* p. 161 ;
    2500 Years of Budd., p. 220 ;
    Eliot, *Hindu and Budd.*, Vol. II, p. 83 ;
    Waddell, pp. 124-125.
12. H.P. Shastri, *Sanskrit Mss. Catal.*, Vol. I, pp. IV, V.
    Bulky commentaries on Prajña-Paramita have come down to us in Chinese Tripitaka in the Tibetan Tanjur. They were written by Nagarjuna Vasubandhu and Asanga. (Winternitz, *H.I.L.*, p. 324).
13. *Waddell*, p. 125.
14. Watters, *Yuan-Ch.*, Vol. II, 203.
15. R. Kimura, *Hina and Maha. Budd.*, p. 40.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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